

Across the German Sea

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

The Northern World

North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 A.D.
Peoples, Economies and Cultures

Editors

David Kirby London

Jón Viðar Sigurðsson Oslo

Ingvild Øye Bergen

Piotr Gorecki University of California at Riverside

Steve Murdoch St. Andrews

VOLUME 62

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/nw

Across the German Sea

Early Modern Scottish Connections
with the Wider Elbe-Weser Region

By

Kathrin Zickermann



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2013

Cover illustration: Bremen and Verden © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen; Signatur Kt I 44.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Zickermann, Kathrin.

Across the German sea : early modern Scottish connections with the wider Elbe-Weser region / by Kathrin Zickermann.

pages cm. — (The Northern world, ISSN 1569-1462 ; volume 62)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-24834-2 (hardback : acid-free paper) — ISBN 978-90-04-24958-5 (e-book)

1. Scotland—Relations—Elbe River Region (Czech Republic and Germany) 2. Elbe River Region (Czech Republic and Germany)—Relations—Scotland. 3. Scotland—Relations—Germany—Weser River Region. 4. Weser River Region (Germany)—Relations—Scotland. 5. Scots—Elbe River Region (Czech Republic and Germany)—History. 6. Scots—Germany—Weser River Region—History. 7. Scots—Elbe River Region (Czech Republic and Germany)—Politics and government. 8. Scots—Germany—Weser River Region—Politics and government. 9. Scotland—Commerce—History—17th century. 10. Scotland—Commerce—History—18th century. I. Title.

DA800.Z53 2013

303.48'2411043590903—dc23—

2013001256

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1569-1462

ISBN 978-90-04-24834-2 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-24958-5 (e-book)

Copyright 2013 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

For my husband

Stuart Alexander Nicolson

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
Stylistic Conventions	xv
 Introduction	 1
 1. Understanding the Wider Elbe-Weser Region	 15
The Lower Elbe Region	16
Controlling the Elbe	25
The Lower Weser Region	51
Conclusion	60
 2. Commercial Links and Mercantile Networks	
c. 1590–1730	77
Scottish Fish Exports: Whitefish	83
Scottish Fish Exports: Herring	95
Scottish Exports: Salt	103
Scottish Exports: Coal	111
The Scottish Commercial Network in Bremen and Hamburg	114
Conclusion	126
Appendix	129
 3. Political and Military Networks c. 1630–1707	 135
Stuart Diplomats and Scottish Officers in Hamburg	135
Royalists, Stuart Supporters and Covenanters	146
Scottish Administration in the Wider Elbe-Weser Region	156
Scots in Brunswick-Lüneburg	174
Conclusion	181
 4. Building a Reformed Community? Exiles on the	
Elbe, 1630–1730	185
John Durie and the Wider Elbe-Weser Region	189
William Waller and the Reformed Community at Lüneburg	202

The Jacobite Presence	227
Conclusion	233
Conclusion	235
Bibliography	243
Index	261

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bremen and Verden	62
2. Holstein	64
3. Bremen (c.1640)	66
4. Lower Weser River (P. Schenk/ G. Valk, c. 1696)	68
5. Hamburg (Matthäus Merian, 1653)	70
6. Lower Elbe River (Johannes Janssonius, 1633)	72
7. Brunswick-Lüneburg	74
8. Alexander Erskein, Anselmus van Hulle	158

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is based on a Ph.D project which I completed at the University of St Andrews in 2009 under the title *Across the German Sea: Scottish Commodity Exchange, Network Building and Communities in the Wider Elbe-Weser Region during the Early Modern Period*. During the last three years I have worked on the transformation of my thesis into this monograph whilst testing some of my arguments at conferences and in published proceedings. During my doctoral research and in the time thereafter I have received invaluable support from a number of individuals and institutions. Special thanks must go to my supervisor Professor Steve Murdoch (University of St Andrews) for his insightful advice, encouragement and friendship. I would also like to thank Professor Allan I. Macinnes (University of Strathclyde) for his counsel and guidance. Thanks are also due to Professor Robert I. Frost (University of Aberdeen) for reading this manuscript and for offering invaluable comments. For institutional support I would like to thank the University of St Andrews as well as the Strathmartine Trust, especially for sponsoring my research in the archives of Denmark, Germany and Sweden. I am indebted to a long list of members of staff in these collections as well as in Scottish libraries and repositories. I would especially like to thank Dr Beate-Christine Fiedler for her competent assistance in the state archives in Stade as well as the similarly efficient and friendly teams at the state archives in Bremen and Oldenburg. Thanks must also go to the staff of the National Archives of Scotland. Furthermore, I would like to thank Professor Christopher Smout for sharing advice and his notes on the Scottish Exchequer Records as well as Sue Mowat for providing transcriptions of the Jolly Papers. In addition I would like to thank Dr Andreas Flick, minister of the Reformed church in Celle and Dr Petra Seling-Biehusen for sending me valuable secondary material. I am also indebted to the late Campbell Murdoch for researching some Scottish family connections on my behalf; Dr Philipp Rössner for helpful observations and Dr David Dobson for sharing some relevant information. Furthermore, I would like to thank Ardis Dreisbach-Grosjean for her hospitality in Stockholm. I must also record my gratitude for the assistance I received from Professor Olaf Mörke and Professor Thomas Riis at Kiel University, especially when writing my Masters thesis on the 'British' community in Hamburg in 2003—the formative stages of this project.

I would also like to thank Professor Roger Mason, director of the Institute of Scottish Historical Research (University of St Andrews), my former fellow Postgraduate students within the Scotland and the Wider World project as well Dr Bernhard Struck, the internal examiner of my thesis. Work on the latter stages of this monograph has been greatly helped by lively discussions with my colleagues at the Centre for History (University of the Highlands and Islands), particularly with Dr David Worthington. Furthermore I would like to say thanks to all my friends and family in Germany and Scotland who have always supported me, especially to my parents Carl and Margarete Zickermann. Last but not least I would like to thank my husband Stuart Nicolson for his never ending loving support.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>APC</i>	England, Privy Council, <i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> (45 vols., London, 1890–1964).
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series</i> : First Series, 1547–1625 (13 vols., London, 1856–1892); Second Series, 1625–1649 (23 vols., London, 1898–1969); Third Series, 1649–1660, (13 vols. London, 1875–1886); Fourth Series, 1660–1685 (29 vols., London, 1860–1939); Fifth Series, 1685–1689 (3 vols., London, 1960–1972); Sixth Series, 1689–1702 (11 vols., London 1895–1937); Seventh Series, 1702–1705 (3 vols., London, 1916–2005).
<i>DNB</i>	<i>New Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>DRA</i>	Danish Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen
<i>fol.</i>	Folio
<i>HMC</i>	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission</i>
<i>HP</i>	Hartlib Papers
<i>KCFB</i>	C.F. Bricka and J.A. Fredericia et.al. (eds.), <i>Kong Christian den Fjerdes egenhaendige Breve</i> (8 vols., Copenhagen, 1878–1947)
<i>LAS</i>	Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Schleswig
<i>SKRA</i>	Swedish Krigsarkivet, Stockholm
<i>MVHG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte</i>
<i>NAS</i>	The National Archives of Scotland
<i>NDB</i>	<i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i> (23 vols., Berlin, 1953–)
<i>NLS</i>	National Library of Scotland
<i>RAOSB</i>	<i>Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter och Brefvexling</i> (15 vols., Stockholm, 1888–1898).
<i>RPCS</i>	<i>Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> : First Series, 1545–1625 (14 vols., Edinburgh, 1877–1898); Second Series, 1625–1660 (8 vols., Edinburgh, 1899–1908); Third Series, 1660–1691 (15 vols., Edinburgh, 1970).
<i>RPS</i>	Brown, Keith M. et al. (eds.), <i>The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707</i> (online publication, St Andrews, 2007–2009).
<i>SP</i>	State Papers
<i>SRA</i>	Swedish Riksarkivet, Stockholm
<i>StAB</i>	Staatsarchiv Bremen
<i>StadtB</i>	Stadtarchiv Buxtehude
<i>StadtL</i>	Stadtarchiv Lüneburg
<i>StAH</i>	Staatsarchiv Hamburg
<i>StAO</i>	Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Oldenburg

StAS	Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Stade
TKUA	Tyske Kancellis Udenrigske Afdeling
TNA	The National Archives, London
ZVHG	<i>Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte</i>

STYLISTIC CONVENTIONS

The names of those individuals which feature in this survey do often appear in very different and inconsistent forms within the primary sources. This especially applies to Scottish and English names in German sources which have often been adapted to German spelling and pronunciation. Thus a name like Andrew Crawford can appear as 'Andreas Kraffert'. In order to avoid confusion of these individuals, names have generally been standardised (when their origin is unambiguous). For Scottish names Black's compendium on Scottish surnames has been used as a guide.¹ In those cases for which this publication offers several versions the one most commonly used has been chosen. All other names have been standardised to the most common variant.

References referring to contemporary correspondence usually state the first and the surname of the sender and recipient. However, for individuals who are appearing frequently, only the surname has been included in the footnotes. (This is provided that there is only one person of the same surname).

German place names have been anglicised where there is a commonly accepted English spelling (e.g. Köln/Cologne). A general problem derives from terminology used by contemporaries. The place name 'Bremen' is not always specified and it is thus impossible to say if the relevant author refers to the city or to the territory. To avoid the latter problem in the modern literature this publication makes this distinction clear by distinctly referring to the city when confusion is likely.

Dates feature another potential source of confusion. It is often unclear if a particular contemporary author employed the Gregorian or Julian calendar. Other writers use both dates side by side. In order not to complicate matters dates have been left unchanged. Similarly, weights and currencies have not been standardized as a conversion would not always be possible.

Footnotes feature the most relevant and informative file names before the specific reference number. These file names follow the terminology of the archives and have been left untranslated. This means that in some

¹ George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning and History* (Edinburgh, 2007, first published in 1946).

cases different terms apply to the same type of document. For example, council records in Bremen are called 'Wittheitsprotokolle' and in Hamburg 'Senatsprotokolle' whereas in Lüneburg the Latin version 'Protocoll Curiae' is used. Clearly the reference systems of individual archives differ greatly from one another. To make this work as user friendly as possible the files of the German archives have been divided in their subdivisions within the bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

In 1682 Margareta More, a local woman belonging to the small town of Buxtehude, situated on the lower part of the river Elbe in Germany, bestowed a sum of 50 Imperial dollars for the support of the poor of Perth in Scotland. This was done according to the will of her late husband, the Scottish officer Patrick More.¹ During his service of around half a century with the Swedish army, Patrick More had developed several interests within the duchy of Bremen and surrounding territories in Northwest Germany. He established meaningful contacts with Scots, Swedes and other foreigners but also with the indigenous population in military and private capacities. Despite his long absence from his home country, More's testament holds proof that he did not lose his attachment to Scotland.

The presence of a Scot in Northern Germany during the seventeenth century may be surprising at first glance, but Patrick More was in fact only one of hundreds, if not thousands of Scots who frequented or resided in the northwestern territories of the Holy Roman Empire during the early modern period. So far very little research has been done to uncover their presence or to analyse the significance of Scottish commercial, cultural, military or diplomatic activity in the region. This lack of detailed research is very surprising, not least as the commercial and diplomatic hubs of the region, Hamburg and Bremen, were amongst the closest seaborne destinations from Scotland outside the British Isles. Existing research has established that the North Sea acted as a crossroads for Scottish merchants, officers and exiles to and from the continent.² Notably, this crossing was called the German Sea in Scots—signifying a clear connection with the northwest German territories.

This study seeks to fill this gap in our knowledge by investigating Scottish migration to and activity in those territories which were situated along the lower parts of the rivers Elbe and Weser and their tributaries, including the rivers Aller, Ilmenau and Oste. These comprised the Hanseatic cities of Hamburg and Bremen, the various counties and

¹ Perth & Kinross Council Archive, Records of Perth Burgh, B59/24/2/1-3, Margareta More to Perth Town Council, Buxtehude, 20 September 1682 and 9 June 1683.

² See for example articles in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005).

districts of Holstein (partially ruled by the Danish monarch), the *Stifte*³ of Bremen and Verden (duchies under Swedish control after 1648), the county of Oldenburg and the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg. It cannot be stressed enough that by looking at multiple territories and cross-border interaction this survey differs profoundly from comparative works on Scottish overseas migration or communities. The latter usually focus on individual cities or territories which are clearly defined by their political borders—or at least appear to be clearly defined by them from a modern perspective. Examples include Thomas Riis' examination of the Scottish presence in Denmark or David Catterall's survey of Scottish migration to the United Provinces.⁴ Contrary to these kingdoms or republics the political situation in the northwest German territories—which in this study is termed as the wider Elbe-Weser region—was highly complex and in many ways characterized by change rather than stability. Studying this region raises a variety of questions which may seem to be irrelevant to surveys concentrating on more clearly defined territories. These include the question of the importance of political borders, which has been addressed by a number of scholars. Martin Rheinheimer for example has published a series of essays analysing the significance of borders in the history of Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark-Norway⁵ whereas Thomas Hill examined the commercial cross-border relations between the city of Bremen and its hinterland during the late medieval period.⁶ Wolfgang Dörfler's comprehensive monograph on the other hand deals solely with the difficulty of establishing the exact course of the border between the *Stifte* and duchies of Bremen and Verden.⁷ His project proved an almost impossible undertaking due to the gradual development of boundary lines after the medieval feudal system (which emphasised power over people rather than territories) lost its importance. Dörfler's publication highlights the ambiguity of political frontiers which is consolidated by a multitude of

³ The term 'Stift' (pl. 'Stifte') refers to a secular territory, governed by an archbishop (Bremen) or bishop (Verden).

⁴ Thomas Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot... Scottish-Danish Relations c. 1450–1707* (2 vols., Odense, 1988); Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden/Boston/Köln, 2002).

⁵ Martin Rheinheimer (ed.), *Grenzen in der Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins und Dänemarks* (Neumünster, 2006).

⁶ Thomas Hill, *Die Stadt und ihr Markt: Bremens Umlands- und Außenbeziehungen im Mittelalter* (12.–15. Jahrhundert), (Wiesbaden, 2004).

⁷ Wolfgang Dörfler, *Herrschaft und Landesgrenze: Die langwährenden Bemühungen um die Grenzziehung zwischen den Stiften und späteren Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden* (Stade, 2004).

surviving contemporary documents dealing with border issues. A glance into the catalogues of North German repositories reveals numerous files relating to territorial disputes.⁸ They are evidence that borders in the wider Elbe-Weser region were not always clearly determined and often contested. This is not only true from a local perspective: the region featured an international dimension with Scandinavian and other European powers competing for dominance in the North Sea (*Dominium Maris Septentrionalis*) and in the Baltic (*Dominium Maris Baltici*). In order to win supremacy over the seas, it was important for Danish and Swedish monarchs to gain control of the strategically and commercially important mouths of the rivers Elbe and Weser (*Dominium Fluminis*), which provided links of commerce and communication.

The political and geographical characteristics of the region impacted on Scottish migration and settlement. This was especially so as Scottish activity was by no means confined to the commercial centres of Bremen and Hamburg. The rivers Elbe and Weser and their tributary systems created routes into adjacent territories, enhancing and facilitating migration and networking between different individuals within this region straddling political borders. Importantly, these links also existed in times of conflict, which brought foreign and neighbouring troops into the area, taking control of parts of the region at various times.⁹

The fact that Scots (and other migrants) easily crossed political frontiers is perhaps not too surprising. As one group of scholars put it 'people have always been on the move, deflected, filtered but rarely bound by borders, real or imaginary. (...) when looking for the determinants of migration, it is futile to distinguish between internal migration and migration across 'national' borders.'¹⁰ Nevertheless, few historians focus their work on broader geo-political areas when analysing migration or foreign activity during the early modern period.¹¹ This may be due to the difficulty of

⁸ Examples in the Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein include Malte Bischoff and Lars Worgull (eds.), *Grafenschaft Holstein-Schauenburg-Pinneberg: Findbuch des Bestandes Abt. 3* (Schleswig, 2002): No. 23, Border conflict between the county Holstein-Schauenburg-Pinneberg with Hamburg, 1593–1607; or Herrschaft Pinneberg, Findbuch des Bestandes Abt. 112 (unpublished): No. 15: Negotiations relating to the borders between Pinneberg-Altona and Hamburg.

⁹ See chapter 1.

¹⁰ Thomas O'Connor, Solvi Sogner and Lex Heerma van Voss, 'Scottish Communities Abroad: Some Concluding Remarks', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 376.

¹¹ Exceptions include Hermann Kellenbenz' analysis of Jewish communities along the river Elbe or Steve Murdoch's examination of Scottish migration to and in Northern Europe. Hermann Kellenbenz, *Sephardim and der Unteren Elbe: Ihre wirtschaftliche und*

identifying historical regions, especially when contemporary concepts of these regions did not exist.¹² The indigenous population of the culturally and politically diverse cities and territories along the Lower Elbe and Lower Weser, for example did not identify themselves as belonging to a wider, interconnected area.¹³ Nevertheless, it is possible to detect contemporary perceptions which viewed at least parts of the wider Elbe-Weser region as a coherent geo-political area. The Danish monarchs for example tried to bring the majority of the political entities under their control, arguing that they had a direct or indirect legitimate claim to them. Furthermore, the archbishop of Bremen perceived the city of Bremen to belong to his territory, long after the senate had begun to pursue an effectively independent policy.¹⁴ Apart from their views, there are modern approaches which assist us in the construction of regions. The definition of regions by rivers or other topographical features has become an established concept ever since Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel published their works on the history of the river Rhine and the history of the Mediterranean respectively.¹⁵ Historians such as Lex Heerma van Voss, Hanno Brand or Friedhelm Biermann have modified and built on their approach and have focused on the history of the North Sea, the Baltic or the geo-political area along

politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts (Wiesbaden, 1958); Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kith, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Leiden, 2006).

¹² For a discussion of the construction of regions and 'spatial imaginations' see Bernhard Struck, 'Historical Regions between Construction and Perception: Viewing France and Poland in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries', *East Central Europe*, vol. 32 (1–2/2005), 79–97.

¹³ The contemporary documents consulted for this survey do not contain any indication that the local population perceived themselves as belonging to a wider region. Nor was there any evidence for a contemporary use of the term 'Elbe-Weser region'. However, the question of local and regional identity certainly deserves further research. The historian Heinrich Schmidt approached the subject when discussing the meaning of historical landscapes and regional identity, but his essay does not examine contemporary perceptions. Heinrich Schmidt, 'Landschaft und regionale Identität: Zur Bedeutung und historischen Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Landschaften und regionaler Kulturpflege im nördlichen Niedersachsen', in Heinz-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität: Beiträge zur Geschichte der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden und des Landes Hadeln* (Stade, 1989), 8–22.

¹⁴ See chapter 1.

¹⁵ Lucien Febvre, *Le Rhin: Problème d'histoire et d'économie* (Paris, 1935, co-written with Albert Demangeon); Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949).

the river Weser.¹⁶ Another example derives from Hermann Kellenbenz who published an analysis on Jewish communities situated along the river Elbe. His investigation spanned the activity of Portuguese Jews in the city of Hamburg, but also in smaller towns in Holstein-Pinneberg and Holstein-Gottorp and interaction between these places.¹⁷

This survey proceeds under the assumption that it is not only justified to perceive the territories and cities situated along the lower parts of the rivers Elbe and Weser as a region, but that it is necessary to do so in order to fully understand Scottish migration to and activity within this geo-political area. Patrick More's life and career is a good example to underpin this hypothesis: the Scot did not arrive directly from his home country but in the service of a foreign power which sought to win control over Elbe and Weser. Although mainly based in the Swedish administered town of Buxtehude, More's sphere of action included the cities of Bremen and Hamburg as well as the county of Holstein-Gottorp.¹⁸ He thus maintained important social and commercial contacts in various territories situated in the wider Elbe-Weser region and further afield. To focus exclusively on his activities in Swedish Bremen would mean to cut off and ignore a significant part of his networks and cross-border movements.

It is important to note that Patrick More and his fellow countrymen formed a heterogeneous migrant group. Their professions included entrepreneurs, diplomats, merchants, ministers, officers and skippers who stayed in Northwest Germany for varied lengths of time, lasting from a few days to several decades. Nevertheless, significant connections existed between Scottish individuals who were based on common origin or common interest. This survey identifies some of these connections, or networks, and analyses the importance of Scots to the region and vice versa, especially in comparison to other places in Northern Europe. In order to achieve this, it not only explores Scottish networks but also examines those links which existed between Scots, the indigenous population and

¹⁶ Lex Heerma van Voss (ed.), *The North Sea and Culture (1550–1800)* (Hilversum, 1996); Hanno Brand (ed.), *The Dynamics of Economic Culture in the North Sea and the Baltic Region in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (Hilversum, 2007), Friedhelm Biermann, *Der Weserraum im hohen und späten Mittelalter: Adelsherrschaften zwischen weltlicher Hausmacht und geistlichen Territorien* (Bielefeld, 2007).

¹⁷ Hermann Kellenbenz, *Sephardim and der Unteren Elbe: Ihre wirtschaftliche und politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1958).

¹⁸ Patrick More's career is more closely analysed in chapter 3. Information on him can also be found in Steve Murdoch and Kathrin Zickermann, "Major-General Patrick More of Buxtehude: A Scottish Officer in 'Swedish Bremen'", *Newsletter: Friends of Perth & Kinross Council Archives*, no. 21 (2007).

other foreigners based in the same locations. This is especially important as the wider Elbe-Weser region, and in particular Hamburg, played a significant role for English commerce, not least due to the establishment of the company of English Merchant Adventurers. It is thus important to establish whether Scots present in the city formed links with English traders. The results of this research reveal not only that they did participate in their company, but periodically created a community of a 'British' mind-set—especially after the regal union between Scotland and England in 1603. Certainly it has been demonstrated that some Stuart subjects fully bought into this 'British' concept and Hamburg is one of the few places from where this identity was overtly stated.¹⁹

The regional networks explored in this monograph were to a certain extent determined either by profession or by location. For example, as a high-ranking officer in Buxtehude Patrick More was necessarily linked to various members of the Swedish military elite and had dealings with the local German population. Some of these connections would have mattered to More in a professional sense only. However, his marriage into the local society signifies that More's links with Buxtehude went beyond his military role. Furthermore, reaching and maintaining his position as commandant required trusted relationships with other officers who could recommend him to the monarch and further his career. In addition, More forged links with fellow Scots who were determined by common political interest in Scotland, common origin and/or family relations. Scholars like Douglas Catterall and Steve Murdoch have proven beyond doubt that such connections formed by bonds of 'kith' and 'kin', mutual origin or common interest in the home country were by no means uncommon when it came to establishing meaningful relationships abroad.²⁰ The analysis of these trusted and often voluntary connections and their significance to individual Scots is vital to understand Scottish activity in the wider Elbe-Weser region and the importance of the region to the Scots and vice versa.

In recent years, network analysis has been applied by a number of historians examining Scottish mercantile, military and diplomatic links. Murdoch in particular has uncovered the success of Scottish merchants

¹⁹ Murdoch, *Network North*, 63–73; Kathrin Zickermann, " 'Briteannia ist mein patria': Scotsmen and the 'British' Community in Hamburg", in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 249–276.

²⁰ Douglas Catterall, 'At Home Abroad: Ethnicity and Enclave in the World of Scots Traders in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800', *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 854 (2004), 319–357; Murdoch, *Network North*, 13–83.

abroad.²¹ His results are significant as they challenge the orthodox view of seventeenth century Scotland as an impoverished and backward nation. Other scholars such as David Worthington or Alexia Grosjean have highlighted the importance of Scottish officers, soldiers and military entrepreneurs on the continent and in Scandinavia.²² The examination of specifically Scottish foreign communities (which can be regarded as a special form of closely knit networks) has also received scholarly interest in recent years.²³ Thus, as recently mentioned by a panel of distinguished scholars, the history of Scottish migration is at the cutting edge of European scholarship on the field of migration history.²⁴

However, as with every approach to historical phenomena, network analysis contains a number of methodological difficulties. Most significant are those related to the available documentary evidence which has—of course—not survived in its entirety not least due to the contemporary instances of destruction of letters of dangerous and compromising or perceived ‘unimportant’ content.²⁵ But even if a complete set of contemporary letters of a particular Scot had survived it would still be impossible to trace all of his or her personal contacts and to evaluate their significance. As has been pointed out, this is due to the simple fact that not all communication occurs in written form in the first place—especially amongst those who live close to each other and thus perhaps form the most important relationships of all.²⁶ Hence it is important to evaluate the quality of personal links rather than the quantity of letters exchanged between individuals. This can most effectively be done in times of crisis when the strength of given networks are tested and become most visible.²⁷ However, it is not only personal letters but a wealth of different types of sources which allow us to trace Scottish networks within the wider Elbe-Weser region.

Scholars analysing Scottish commercial networks deliberately turn away from the evaluation of ‘hard data’ or statistical evidence deriving

²¹ Murdoch, *Network North*, Section 2: Commercial Networks, 127–248.

²² Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden, 2003); David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden, 2004).

²³ See for example articles in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston, 2005).

²⁴ van Voss, Sogner and O'Connor, ‘Scottish Communities Abroad’, 377.

²⁵ Moreover, some of the relevant archives have experienced considerable damage by war and other catastrophes. For example, part of the collections in Hamburg’s state archives were destroyed by a fire in the nineteenth century.

²⁶ Murdoch, *Network North*, 7–8.

²⁷ Ibid.

from port books or tax registers. This is not least as there is a wide consensus that these types of documents feature a high level of inaccuracy due to smuggling or inconsistent entries: Even those scholars who place custom records at the forefront of their research admit to the shortcomings of the material used and back up or extend their results with the help of alternative sources.²⁸ Nevertheless, tax and toll registers can hold some valuable information for the analysis of commercial networks. This is particularly true for the analysis of Scottish commercial links with Northwest Germany. One corpus of custom records deserves a special mention in this context: These are the Weser toll registers administered by Oldenburg customs officials, who from 1653/4 gained comprehensive authority to collect duties from ships going up and down the river Weser.²⁹ Controlling a narrow stream of water rather than a coastline, they were comparatively successful in recording the commercial traffic which usually originated from or was destined for the city of Bremen. Their documentation of the skippers, their ships and the receiving merchants can thus be considered to be fairly accurate. Other information recorded in the registers has to be evaluated more carefully: the destination and origin of ships stated by the skippers may have differed from their actual destination and origin, particularly in times of conflict when the commercial exchange with a particular power was limited or prohibited. As skippers may have hidden goods from the customs officials, it is also impossible to quantify commodities transported on the Weser from the recorded lasts of loadings or the amount of paid custom fees. Nevertheless, the registers highlight the commercial behaviour and trade patterns of individual skippers and merchants. This is especially so, as they can be compared with other trade records. Some volumes of the Wesertoll registers can be cross-referenced with individual Scottish port books. For example, a comparison between the Wesertoll register for the year 1673 and the corresponding port book of Bo'ness reveals that out of the seven Bremen skippers who left this Scottish toll precinct, only four returned directly to the Weser.³⁰ Unfortunately, this cross-referencing is only possible for a few, individual records: the Wesertoll registers have survived for the years between 1654 and 1679 (sometimes in fragmented form), whereas the majority of Scottish port books still

²⁸ See for example: Philipp Robinson Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports 1700–1770* (Stuttgart, 2008); Kurt H. Schwebel, *Salz im Alten Bremen* (Bremen, 1988).

²⁹ StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20, AB-D2-29.

³⁰ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/7, Bo'ness; StAO, Weserzollregister, AB-D18, 1673.

exist for the 1680s.³¹ Nevertheless, the above example highlights that the analysis of comparable trade records held in foreign archives undoubtedly helps to maximise the information deriving from the Scottish port books. By focusing on the trade routes and commercial behaviour of individual skippers or merchants this approach not only furthers our understanding of Scottish commercial links with the continent but also North Sea and Baltic relations in general. It would be highly desirable if historians would unearth additional, matching data which could be used to track the journeys of individual ships and traders over several trade zones; ideally made available via online databases.³² This reference to the usefulness of some customs records should however not distract from the fact that alternative documents such as official correspondence, letters and merchants' ledgers have conclusively been proven to contain the most valuable information when analysing Scottish activity abroad. To describe the relevant material in detail would go beyond the scope of this introduction and the list of primary sources in the bibliography speaks for itself.

Instead, another observation may be useful at this place. It is only recently that historians have begun to break the mould of an Anglo-centric or even Scotto-centric scholarship by focusing on the analysis of material held in foreign repositories. This has proven to be highly rewarding and the research for this monograph has followed this approach, unearthing new documents in German and Scandinavian local and national archives in addition to British repositories. However, the use of these archives and libraries has not come without problems. The quantity of the available material means that not all collections which may or may not hold important information could be thoroughly examined. This is especially true for the small, decentralised and sometimes ill-catalogued German city archives which could not all be visited. Nevertheless, this survey is based on the analysis of a wealth of multilingual documents which allows for a comprehensive insight.

³¹ NAS, Exchequer Records: Customs Books (Second Series); StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20, AB-D2-29. For the purpose of this study, sample years of the Wesertollregisters (1654–1656, 1664, 1673) have been examined. Kurt Schwebel has analysed all available trade registers in relation to trade with Scottish salt. Readers interested in his statistical evaluation can find an overview in Schwebel, *Salz*, 51.

³² It is unfortunate that an online database project, which aimed to make sample years of the Weser toll registers available, did not materialise. For the concept of this project see Timo Mammen, 'Schiffahrt auf der Weser in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, vol. 70 (1998), 73–92.

Owing to the richness of the material each of the four major parts of this survey could have been expanded to form a monograph on their own. However, it is the entirety of their four topics which gives us a broader understanding of the diversity of Scottish activity within the region. Chapter one gives valuable background information by focusing exclusively on the political and commercial situation of the wider Elbe-Weser region and the importance of its river system. This is essential as Scottish links with and within the region cannot be understood without a grasp of the prevailing social, political and commercial conditions. The history of Northwest Germany has seldom been studied in English language and it is only for the city of Hamburg that we find a number of English articles or monographs.³³ Furthermore, the political entities included in this study are rarely contextualised together even in German history but often studied in isolation, thus complicating the history of foreign migration within and across their borders. For example, a multitude of historical works exist on the cities of Altona, Bremen, Glückstadt, Hamburg, Lüneburg and Stade, on the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg, on the duchies of Bremen and Verden or on the county of Oldenburg.³⁴ However, there are only a

³³ Erik Lindberg, 'The Rise of Hamburg as a Global Marketplace in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative Political Economic Perspective', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 50/3 (2008), 265–287; William E. Lingelbach, 'The English Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 9/2 (1904), 265–287; Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg 1529–1819* (Cambridge/London/ New York, 1985); Kathrin Zickermann, '„Briteannia ist mein patria": Scotsmen and the 'British' Community in Hamburg', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 249–276.

³⁴ Examples include: Altona: Heinz Ramm, 'Altona, Wandsbek und die südholsteinischen Randgebiete', in Erich Lehe, Heinz Ramm and Dietrich Kausche (eds.), *Heimatchronik der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg* (Cologne, 1967), 263–351; Bremen: Wilhelm von Bippen, *Geschichte der Stadt Bremen* (Bremen, 1904); Konrad Elmsläuser, *Geschichte Bremens* (München, 2007); Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen* (4 vols., Hamburg, 1985); Glückstadt: Frithjof Löding, 'Die Gründung von Friedrichstadt und Glückstadt', in Antoni Maczak and Christopher Smout (eds.), *Gründung und Bedeutung kleinerer Städte im nördlichen Europa der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 175–180; Hamburg: Eckart Klessmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1981); Martin Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs* (München, 2006); Hans-Dieter Loose (ed.), *Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner* (2 vols., Hamburg, 1982); Lüneburg: Horst Heuer, *Lüneburg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine Eingliederung in den Fürstenstaat* (Hamburg, 1969); Wilhelm Reinecke, *Geschichte der Stadt Lüneburg* (2 vols., Lüneburg, 1933); Uta Reinhardt, 'Die Wirtschaftskrise des 16. Jahrhunderts und die Aufrechterhaltung der Autonomie Lüneburgs bis zum 30-jährigen Krieg', in Jürgen Bohmbach (ed.), *Fernhandel und Stadtentwicklung im Nord- und Ostseeraum in der hansischen Spätzeit (1550–1630)* (Stade, 1995), 86–105; Stade: W.H. Jobelmann and W. Wittpenning, *Geschichte der Stadt Stade*, (Stade, 1897); Stefan Kroll, *Stadtgesellschaft und Krieg. Sozialstruktur, Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft in Stralsund und Stade* (Stuttgart, 1997); Hans Wohltmann, *Die Geschichte*

few studies which consider more than one territory. Some publications research the 'country' between Elbe and Weser (sometimes also referred to as the Elbe-Weser triangle) usually including the *Stifte* or duchies of Bremen and Verden variously complemented by the district of Hadeln, the district of Ritzebüttel and/or the district of Harburg.³⁵ Furthermore, Kellenbenz' aforementioned study examined migration and activity of Portuguese Jews between the sixteenth and eighteenth century at the Lower Elbe.³⁶ A few historians also define their research area by modern borders and focus thus on more than one historical political entity.³⁷ Nevertheless, a study which includes all of the above territories does so far not exist. Thus, chapter one not simply sets the scene for Scottish migration and activity, but also contributes to our understanding of the wider Elbe-Weser region itself.

The following three chapters divide Scots by their profession and their social and political status. Chapter two focuses on commerce and Scottish merchants and skippers whereas chapter three highlights the activity of diplomats and officers. Chapter four on the other hand evaluates the role of Scottish theologians and ministers and analyses the activity of a group of Calvinist refugees and entrepreneurs in Brunswick-Lüneburg. It has

der Stadt Stade an der Niederelbe (Stade, 1956); Brunswick-Lüneburg: Wilhelm Havemann, *Geschichte der Lande Brunswick und Lüneburg* (2 vols., Göttingen, 1853); Bremen-Verden: Klaus-Richard Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen* (Uppsala, 1967); Beate-Christine Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden als schwedische Provinz (1633/45–1712)', in Hans-Eckhard Dannenberg and Heinz-Joachim Schulze (eds.), *Geschichte the Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser*, Vol. 3 (Stade, 2008), 173–253; Beate-Christine Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung der Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden in der Schwedenzeit 1652–1712: Organisation und Wesen der Verwaltung* (Stade, 1987); Oldenburg: Rolf Schäfer (ed.), *Oldenburgische Kirchengeschichte* (Oldenburg, 1999). Research on Holstein (if not focused on a particular place like Glückstadt or Altona) is usually integrated into studies on Schleswig-Holstein's history. Ulrich Lange (ed.), *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* (Neumünster, 2003); Jan Markus Witt and Heiko Vosgerau (eds.), *Schleswig-Holstein von den Ursprüngen bis zur Gegenwart: Eine Landesgeschichte* (Hamburg, 2002).

³⁵ Hans Eckhard Dannenberg and Heinz-Joachim Schulze (eds.), *Geschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser*, (3 vols., Stade, 2003–2008); Johannes Göhler, *Wege des Glaubens: Beiträge zu einer Kirchengeschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser* (Stade, 2006); Heinz-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität: Beiträge der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden und des Landes Hadeln* (Stade, 1989); Brage bei der Wieden and Jan Lokers (eds.), *Lebensläufe zwischen Elbe und Weser: Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Stade, 2002).

³⁶ Kellenbenz, Hermann, *Sephardim an der Unteren Elbe: Ihre wirtschaftliche und politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1958).

³⁷ Kurt Brüning, *Niedersachsen und Bremen* (Stuttgart, 1960); Gerd van den Heuvel, 'Niedersachsen im 17. Jahrhundert (1618–1714)', in Christine van den Heuvel and Manfred Boetticher (eds.), *Geschichte Niedersachsens* (Hannover, 1998), 141–152.

to be stressed that all chapters overlap and complement each other to a large degree. This is not least as Scottish merchants were demonstrably linked to their countrymen traversing the region in diplomatic and military capacities. Furthermore, several Scots cannot exclusively be assigned to one activity or category as they engaged in commercial, military and other activities at the same time. For example, officers like Patrick More engaged themselves not only in military business but also traded on private account.

Chapters two to four draw on the limited scholarship so far undertaken into Scottish activity within the region. Scottish-German commercial relations are a subject presently attracting some scholarly attention. Philipp Rössner has recently analysed trade links between Scotland and German ports in the eighteenth century.³⁸ While his work certainly casts interesting new light on an important aspect of Scottish history within the framework of the post-1707 Anglo-Scottish Union, there is considerable scope to review the origins of the trade Rössner studies, and ask questions as to why it has previously been overlooked or ignored. In addition to Rössner's work, older research demonstrated economic relations between the cities of Bremen and Hamburg and the Shetland Islands.³⁹ Furthermore, Kurt Schwebel highlighted the significance of Bremen's market for Scottish salt and specifically examined the activities of a Scottish merchant and a Scottish skipper and some of their networks within and outside the city.⁴⁰ These studies have been taken into account, but research on the commercial links has been given a considerably wider scope in this present survey. Chapter two places skippers and merchants and their commodities in the foreground and analyses not only bilateral Scottish-German links but all trading activities involving Scottish and German merchants. It also highlights the relationship of Scottish merchants with the indigenous population and other foreigners and poses the question as to why we cannot identify a distinct ethnical Scottish community in Northwest Germany.

³⁸ Philipp Robinson Rössner, *Scottish Trade in the Wake of Union (1700–1760): The Rise of a Warehouse Economy* (Stuttgart, 2008); Philipp Robinson Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports 1700–1770: A Sketch of the North Sea Trades and the Atlantic Economy of Ground Level* (Stuttgart, 2008).

³⁹ Klaus Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants and their Trade with Shetland', in Donald J. Withrington (ed.), *Shetland and the Outside World 1469–1969* (Oxford 1983), 86–95; Liv Kjorsvik Schei, *The Shetland Story* (London, 1988); Hance D. Smith, *Shetland Life and Trade* (Edinburgh, 1984).

⁴⁰ Kurt Schwebel, *Salz im Alten Bremen* (Bremen, 1988).

In contrast to research on Scottish commercial links, the analysis of Scottish diplomacy whether in domestic or foreign affairs has been a recent phenomenon. Steve Murdoch's article and subsequent monograph on Stuart-British diplomacy (both published in 2000) have been the first studies in this field.⁴¹ This scholarship has been further developed by Alexia Grosjean's study on Scottish-Swedish relations (2003)⁴² and by David Worthington's publication on Scots in Habsburg Service during the Thirty Years' War (2004).⁴³ Furthermore, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* now engages with individual Scottish diplomats previously omitted,⁴⁴ as does the Swedish database of Axel Oxenstierna's correspondence.⁴⁵ Over the past decade new research has also re-evaluated the significant role played by Scottish officers and soldiers within the Swedish or Danish-Norwegian army during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ This recent interest in the activity of Scots in foreign armies (beyond their presence as simple mercenaries) is also evidenced by the publication of new editions of diaries of Scottish officers such as

⁴¹ Murdoch, 'Diplomacy in Transition: Stuart-British Diplomacy in Northern Europe, 1603–1618', in A.I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F.G. Pedersen (eds.), *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–1700* (East Linton, 2000), 93–114; Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart 1603–1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton, 2003, first published in 2000).

⁴² Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden, 2003).

⁴³ David Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden, 2004).

⁴⁴ See for example articles on Robert Anstruther and James Spens of Wormiston. Steve Murdoch, 'Robert Anstruther (1578/9–1644/5)', *DNB* (online publication); Richard Zygmunt Brzezinski, 'James Spens of Wormiston (d.1632)', *DNB* (online publication).

⁴⁵ H. Backhausen et al. (eds.), *Oxenstiernaregistret, Del B, Brev till Axel Oxenstierna fran Jan Rutgers, Jakob Spens, Carl Marinus, Johann Adler Salvius och drottning Kristina* (online publication).

⁴⁶ For Scottish officers and soldiers within the Swedish army see Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden, 2003); Alexia Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship in the Swedish Empire, 1574–1700', in A. Mackillop and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800* (Leiden, 2003), 53–77; Alexia Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies? The Cranstoun Regiment in Sweden 1656–1658', in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550–1900* (Leiden, 2002), 61–82; Alexia Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's closest ally?', in Steve Murdoch (ed.), *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War* (Leiden, 2001), 143–172. For Scottish activity within the Danish-Norwegian army see Steve Murdoch, 'Scotsmen on the Danish-Norwegian Frontiers c. 1580–1680', in Murdoch and Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity*, 1–28; Steve Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart 1603–1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton, 2003, first published in 2000). Older research relating to involvement of Scots within the Northern European armies includes Thomas Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh, 1907) and Jonas Berg and Bo Lagercrantz, *Scots in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1962).

Robert Monro and Patrick Gordon.⁴⁷ Whereas some of these works touch upon the activity of Scottish military officials, mentioning only that they were present within the wider Elbe-Weser region, a study which focuses on the Scottish diplomatic and military activity within the various armies within this area is so far missing.⁴⁸ Chapter three bridges this gap by analysing Scottish diplomatic and military involvement within the various powers and armies active within the region, thus significantly contributing to existing research. At the same time it examines the tasks taken on by Scots within the Swedish administration of Bremen-Verden which has only partially been analysed by previous research relating to this topic.⁴⁹

The fourth and final chapter builds on in-depth analysis of a Scottish Calvinist religious community within the United Provinces following the restoration of Episcopal church government in Scotland after 1661 by historians like Douglas Catterall and Ginny Gardner.⁵⁰ What has so far remained obscure is that several of the religious and political exiles initially found in places like Amsterdam or Rotterdam were subsequently attracted to the wider Elbe-Weser region during the 1680s. The chapter examines the reason for their presence and the role of Scottish exiles for the region and vice versa.

Collectively these chapters allow for an insight into Scottish networking in this complex region for the first time, and in so doing it is hoped give a significant contribution on the role of Scots in Northern Europe.

⁴⁷ William Brockington (ed.), *Monro, Robert: His Expedition with a worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keyes*, (Conneticut/London, 1999); Dmitry Fedosov (ed.), *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699* (2 vols., Aberdeen, 2009). The second volume of this edition is forthcoming. Thus for the years after 1659 we still rely on an older edition published by Botfield. B. Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries A.D. 1635–A.D. 1699* (Aberdeen, 1859).

⁴⁸ Peter Burschel who researched the role of mercenaries in Northwest Germany during the sixteenth and seventeenth century mentions Scots only in passing. Peter Burschel, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1994), 153–154.

⁴⁹ Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 173–254; Beate-Christine Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung der Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden in der Schwedenzeit 1652–1712: Organisation und Wesen der Verwaltung* (Stade, 1987).

⁵⁰ Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic c. 1600–1700* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2002); Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands 1660–1690* (East Linton, 2004). For the religious situation in Scotland after the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy see Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660–88* (London, 1976); Walter Roland Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland 1661–1688* (London, 1958).

CHAPTER ONE

UNDERSTANDING THE WIDER ELBE-WESER REGION

The territories which held possessions along the Lower Elbe and Lower Weser and their tributaries were characterised by political diversity rather than unity. They comprised not only the cities of Hamburg and Bremen as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden (*Stifte* until 1648), but also consisted of the various territories of the county of Holstein, the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the county of Oldenburg as well as other territories with peripheral interests in the region, such as Sachsen-Lauenburg. The territories neither covered an individual political entity nor were they identical with the Lower Saxon Circle (*Niedersächsischer Reichskreis*), a political subdivision of the Holy Roman Empire.¹ Although all of the above cities and principalities officially adhered to the Protestant faith, Bremen followed the reformed, Calvinist doctrine, forming a confessional island within the adjacent Lutheran territories. Furthermore, all territories offered varying degrees of religious toleration. In addition, the social and legal conditions in the bigger cities of Bremen and Hamburg (or even the smaller ones of Lüneburg, Altona and Stade) differed significantly to those in rural areas.²

Despite their differences a multitude of links existed which connected the political entities to a geo-political area which we can justifiably call a region. The Lower Elbe, Lower Weser and their tributaries provided the most important of these regional links offering points of contact and enhancing cross-border foreign and local migration. Trade and travel routes followed the course of the rivers which were linked to a system of roads, interconnecting the region itself and providing contacts with

¹ The Lower Saxon Circle consisted of the Guelph territories, the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Hildesheim as well as the bishoprics of Lübeck, Ratzeburg, Schwerin and Schleswig. The Hanseatic cities of Hamburg and Lübeck and the cities of Nordhausen and Mühlhausen were also included, the latter two as enclaves within the Upper Saxon Circle. The bishopric of Verden did not belong to the Lower Saxon Circle. Winfried Dotzauer, *Die deutschen Reichskreise* (Stuttgart, 1998), 334.

² Ortwin Pelc, 'Vor den Toren: Die Grenze zwischen Stadt und Land in Schleswig-Holstein vom 12. bis 19. Jahrhundert', in Rheinheimer (ed.), *Grenzen in der Geschichte*, 185–209.

the outside world. The rivers effectively extended the North Sea and as such facilitated an intake of foreign merchants and entrepreneurs, whose length of stay ranged from a few days to several years or a lifetime. In addition, major routes between the North Sea and the Baltic region and into the Holy Roman Empire merged in the region, converting it into one of Europe's most significant transit zones.

Importantly, these connections existed not only in times of peace but also during conflict, as such activity brought migrants to the region in their capacities as diplomats, military officers or common soldiers. Understanding the factors which provoked tensions, rivalry and conflict between the different entities is therefore as important as understanding their economic and political coherence when analysing trade, settlement and network-building by Scots and other ethnic groups in the area.

The Lower Elbe Region

The ruling elites of the territories in question were bound together in as much as they all valued the significance of the Lower Elbe and Lower Weser as vital trade routes and arteries of strategic importance. Lorenzen-Schmidt revealed the significance of the Lower Elbe and its tributaries in linking the adjacent towns and territories to one coherent commercial area.³ This region featured towns which had developed on the tributaries of the Elbe between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. On the northern side of the river these were Krempe at the Kremperau, Itzehoe at the Stör and Wilster at the Wilsterau. On the southern banks the town of Buxtehude developed at the river Este, Stade at the Schwinge and Freiburg and Otterndorf directly at the Elbe.⁴ Furthermore, the river Oste connected Bremervörde, situated further inland within the territory of Bremen, with the larger waterway.⁵ The towns and rural areas on both sides of the Elbe were not only connected by shipping traffic but also by a ford at Wedel where herds of oxen could be driven across the stream.⁶

³ Klaus-Joachim Lorenzen-Schmidt, 'Verbindendes und Trennendes: Einige Gedanken zur historischen Funktion der Unterelbe als Grenze', in Rheinheimer (ed.), *Grenzen in der Geschichte*, 295–306.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 299.

⁵ Elfriede Bachmann, 'Bremervörde und die Oste', in August Heinrich von Brook and Gisela Tiedemann (eds.), *Die Oste: Lebensader zwischen Elbe und Weser* (Bremerhaven, 2003), 47.

⁶ Lorenzen-Schmidt, 'Verbindendes und Trennendes', 305. Another ford was located further east at Zollenspieker.

The river also linked the urban settlements and their surrounding areas with the metropolis of Hamburg—itself situated where the river Alster joined the Elbe.

Hamburg was located at the land bridge between the North Sea and the Baltic and at the crossing of major roads into the Netherlands, Denmark-Norway and the Holy Roman Empire. This favourable location meant that the city not only functioned as a regional centre, but also rose to become a significant entrepôt, especially for the commercial exchange between the North Sea/Atlantic and the Baltic trade zones.⁷ This ascent, which began during the sixteenth century, led to an increased population, estimated at 36,000 around 1600 and at 75,000 in the early 1660s.⁸ The city depended on the agrarian products of the Lower Elbe region in order to provide resources for its inhabitants; at the same time however, Hamburg merchants made profits from the trade with these rural areas and smaller towns which they invested into long-distance trade. This prompted the senate of Hamburg to secure the river as a vital trade route not only towards the North Sea but also as an important link into the Lower Elbe region.⁹

In order to do so, the city began to lay out nautical markers in the mid-fifteenth century, which made it easier for the commercial traffic to pass through the river. These markers highlighted Hamburg's supremacy on the Elbe, not least as the senate charged transiting ships for their service and maintained several support ships, whose crews also controlled the conduct of foreign and Hamburg skippers.¹⁰ In addition, the city's senate acquired two Imperial privileges in 1468 and 1482 which confirmed the Hamburgers' jurisdiction on the Elbe and a staple at their city.¹¹ Hamburg furthermore gained the island of Neuwerk (1309) and the district of Ritzebüttel situated at the southern mouth of the river (1393/4).¹² Due to its distance from the inner city area Ritzebüttel proved hard to defend and during the fifteenth century the town officials had to settle border issues with their neighbours, the district of Hadeln, in the possession of the Duke

⁷ Sven Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges auf den Fernhandel Hamburgs', in Martin Knauer and Sven Tode (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren: Hamburg im Dreißigjährigen Krieg 1618–1648* (Hamburg, 2000), 215–218.

⁸ Hans-Dieter Loose, 'Das Zeitalter der Bürgerunruhen und der großen europäischen Kriege 1618–1712', in Hans-Dieter Loose (ed.), *Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner*, (Hamburg, 1982), vol. 1, 265.

⁹ Schmidt, 'Verbindendes und Trennendes', 302–303.

¹⁰ Heinrich Reincke, 'Hamburgische Territorialpolitik', *ZVHG*, vol. 38 (1939), 65–67.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 63–64.

¹² *Ibid.*, 61–63, 67–74.

of Lauenburg and the district of Wursten, belonging to the archbishop of Bremen.¹³ The senate of Hamburg jointly with the senate of Lübeck also acquired control over part of the trade routes between their cities during the fifteenth century including the districts Vierlande, Geesthacht, and Bergedorf where a toll station at Eßlingen was erected.¹⁴ However, merchants travelling between the two cities also had to cross through territories belonging to the rulers of Holstein-Gottorp, including the districts (*Ämter*) Tremsbüttel, Trittau and Reinbek and the bishopric of Lübeck.¹⁵

The Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp controlled a number of small, disjointed territories in Holstein (formally part of the Holy Roman Empire) and Schleswig (formally part of Denmark-Norway) and kept a residence at Gottorp castle. Their possessions entailed a number of islands in the Baltic and the North Sea, including the island of Helgoland situated at the mouth of the Elbe.¹⁶ In addition, Johann Friedrich (the younger brother of Duke Adolf (1575–1616)), acquired control over the bishopric of Bremen between 1579 and 1634, located on the southern banks of the river.¹⁷ Due to the geo-political location of their possessions the dukes maintained an interest in a free access to the Elbe, which they used as a trade artery to Hamburg and the surrounding area. However, as the territories were militarily and politically weak, they did not actively intervene in the disputes which evolved around the control of the river during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Instead, their territories were involuntarily drawn into various conflicts by the Danish monarchs who pursued a more aggressive policy in Northwest Germany.¹⁸

In addition to the aforementioned territories, Hamburg owned the small districts of Moorburg and Moorwerder on the southern banks of the river, situated within the territory of Harburg which was governed by

¹³ Sven Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren: Das Hamburger Umland im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Knauer and Tode (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren*, 153. See also G. Hindrichson, 'Die Einnahme des Hauses Ritzebüttel durch den Administrator Christian Wilhelm v. Magdeburg 1626', *Jahresbericht der Männer vom Morgenstern*, vol. 11 (1908/09), 244–250; Hermann Joachim, 'Die Erwerbung des Amtes Ritzebüttel durch Hamburg', *MVHG*, vol. 27 (1907), 353–382.

¹⁴ Reincke, 'Hamburgische Territorialpolitik', 84–94; F. Voigt, 'Der Städte Lübeck und Hamburg ehemalige Zoll- und Fährstelle bei Esslingen an der Elbe', *MVHG*, vol. 4 (1887–9), 218–240.

¹⁵ Dieter Lohmeier, *Kleiner Staat ganz groß: Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp* (Heide, 1997), 12–13.

¹⁶ Memorandum Concerning the Island of Helgoland, printed in Margery Lane, 'Helgoland in 1689', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 30/120 (1915), 705–706.

¹⁷ Lohmeier, *Kleiner Staat*, 15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 16–33. See also below.

a junior branch of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg until 1642.¹⁹ Further upstream, Hamburg competed with the city of Lüneburg which—although situated within the territory of Brunswick-Lüneburg—followed its own independent policy until the late 1630s.²⁰ Lüneburg was strategically situated at the river Ilmenau which runs into the Elbe and at the crossroads of several important overland trade routes. The city's merchants depended on access to the Lower Elbe region from where they exported corn and other agrarian products. In exchange they sold their most important produce—salt—in this region and at Hamburg.²¹ However, their free trade on the southern arm of the Elbe was challenged by the senate of Hamburg who insisted on its staple right as granted by the Emperor in 1482.²² This conflict dragged on for decades, although Hamburg as the bigger commercial hub could eventually assert itself.

Hamburg's trade links did not derive exclusively from the city's favourable location but depended on the intake of foreign traders. Hamburg's constitution of 1529 created a political system in which the merchants—organised in a new corporation called *Der Gemeine Kaufmann*—and the senate shared powers. This system—which was unique in comparison to other Hanseatic cities—made it unnecessary for merchants to act collectively against the senate.²³ At the same time Hamburg's merchants guilds lost their influence not least due to the foundation of the Hamburg Exchange in 1558 as a marketplace for foreign merchants and commissioners as well as local traders which effectively negated the guilds' old privileges.²⁴ These developments contributed to a new policy which welcomed foreigners who positively influenced Hamburg's trade and industry. By opening their city Hamburg's merchants and officials created a society similar to cities like Amsterdam and London and significantly different to

¹⁹ Reincke, 'Hamburgische Territorialpolitik', 53–55.

²⁰ Reinhardt, 'Die Wirtschaftskrise', 97–98.

²¹ Georg Matthaei, 'Die Lage der Lüneburger Elbschiffahrt im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Lüneburger Blätter*, vol. 6 (1955), 70.

²² Reinhardt, 'Die Wirtschaftskrise', 92.

²³ Lindberg, 'The Rise of Hamburg', 654–656; Rainer Postel, *Versammlung eines Ehrbaren Kaufmanns: Kaufmännische Selbstverwaltung in Geschichte und Gegenwart 1517–1992* (Hamburg, 1992), 14–16.

²⁴ Lindberg, 'The Rise of Hamburg', 656. By the seventeenth century most of the guilds (*Englandfahrer*, *Flandernfahrer* et al.) had social functions only. However, the Scandic company (*Schonenfahrergesellschaft*) was able to claim the monopoly of the herring trade. For further information on this company see chapter 2. Martin Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Hamburg, 1975), 152–210.

places like Lübeck where local traders successfully curbed the influx of foreign merchants in order to eliminate competition—ironically to their own long-term economic disadvantage.²⁵ Hamburg became attractive to foreigners as they could acquire citizen rights provided that they adhered to the city's official Lutheran faith. Non-Lutherans were however able to acquire lesser citizen rights (*Schutzverwandschaft*), allowing them to be economically active but excluding them from political participation.²⁶ Reißmann has estimated that no less than 50 to 60 per cent of Hamburg's citizens throughout the seventeenth century consisted of migrants.²⁷ Portuguese migrants formed one out of the three communities of foreigners who entered into group contracts with the city, receiving special trade privileges. Sephardic Jews had left Portugal for the Southern Netherlands since the late sixteenth century to avoid religious persecution. After the outbreak of the Dutch-Spanish conflict (1568–1648), which caused serious disruptions of trade, a group of Portuguese moved to Hamburg. They were joined by further migrants who arrived directly from Portugal or via places like Rouen, boosting the community to around 110 members by 1610 and to around 500 in 1649.²⁸ From 1612 several contracts were closed between the community and Hamburg's authorities which primarily regulated financial issues like taxation.²⁹ Although the acquisition of houses and Jewish worship remained prohibited, three private synagogues were temporarily in existence within the city. The community—which featured its own poor box—consisted not only of merchants but also of intellectuals and maintained close contacts with the Sephardic community at Amsterdam.³⁰ Links also existed with the Sephardic Jews who

²⁵ Lindberg, 'The Rise of Hamburg', 649–652.

²⁶ Krieger, *Geschichte Hamburgs*, 55–56; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 129.

²⁷ Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 214. Inhabitants of Hamburg (including sons of citizens) had to pay a smaller fee when acquiring full citizen rights. Hence it is possible to come to a fairly accurate result when estimating the proportion of foreigners among Hamburg's citizens. This regulation did not apply to those who purchased lesser citizen rights and thus it is impossible to come to a conclusion on the proportion of foreigners among them. However, it has to be assumed that a large group among them did not originate in Hamburg.

²⁸ Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 25–36, 41. During the second half of the seventeenth century the Hamburg community dropped in size not least due to protests from parts of Hamburg's society against the (unofficial) exercise of their religious practices. A special tax introduced in 1697 and several articles curtailing their liberties prompted a great number of Portuguese Jews to leave the city. *Ibid.*, 45–54.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 33–37, 43.

settled at Glückstadt attracted by an invitation of the Danish monarch in 1622, and privileges issued in 1629 and 1630 which allowed for public worship. However, the community at Glückstadt remained on a small scale not least due to the trade disruptions and insecurity caused by the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and other European conflicts.³¹

The company of Merchant Adventurers who relocated to the city in 1611 formed a second foreign community within the city.³² Although the Adventurers were an English company there is ample evidence that this institution was a centre of Anglo-Scottish cooperation, the significance of which has so far not been appreciated by the existing scholarship. This interaction will be scrutinised in detail in the following chapters and it is here sufficient to briefly analyse the conditions of the company's presence in Hamburg. The early years of the Adventurers' activity in Northwest Germany were characterised by shorter stays in various places. During the Spanish-Dutch war the company decided to relocate from their main continental trade centre of Antwerp. After a brief spell in Emden, a town situated in East Frisia alongside the river Ems, the Adventurers settled in Hamburg from 1567. However, when the company's trade privileges (which had been granted for the duration of ten years) were not renewed by the local authorities, the Adventurers returned to Emden in 1579.³³ From that year onwards the town functioned as the company's main trading centre within the northwest German region until 1587, when the Merchant

³¹ Ibid., 62–70. See also below.

³² Publications on the activity of the company of Merchant Adventurers in Northwest Germany include Wolf-Rüdiger Baumann, *The Merchant Adventurers and the Continental Cloth-trade (1560s–1620s)* (Berlin/New York 1990); Richard Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England im Zeitalter der Königin Elisabeth* (Jena, 1896); Maria Möring, 'Die Englische Kirche in Hamburg und die Merchant Adventurers', *Hamburgische Geschichts- und Heimatblätter*, vol. 20 (1963), 91–112; Heinrich Hitzgrath, *Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Hamburg und England von 1611 bis 1660* (Hamburg, 1912); C. Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse under Charles II', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 23/92 (1908), 683–708; Heinrich Hitzgrath, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Hamburg und England zur Zeit Jakobs I, Karls I und der Republik 1611–1660* (Hamburg, 1907); Heinrich Hitzgrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers und die englische Kirchengemeinde in Hamburg 1611–1835* (Hamburg, 1904); Heinrich Hitzgrath, 'Das englische Haus in der Gröningerstraße und der Boselhof an der englischen Planke', *Hamburgischer Correspondent*, vol. 460 (1901), 1–3; William E. Lingelbach, 'The Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 9/2 (1904), 265–287.

³³ Baumann, *The Merchant Adventurers*, 151–155; Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse', 683; Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England*, 76–141. The refusal to renew the Adventurers contract was a reaction to Queen Elizabeth's temporary removal of the Hanseatic Steelyard in London in 1577.

Adventurers chose Stade as their mart town (1587–1598; 1601–1611).³⁴ Upon their return to Hamburg in 1611, the company received extensive privileges which were regulated in a final contract in 1618.³⁵ The merchants received toll privileges which allowed them cheaper rates than the citizens of Hamburg. They were also exempted from the admiralty toll which was introduced in 1623.³⁶ In addition they were granted the rights of free trade within the city without having to perform guard duties. Importantly, the contract stated that only members of the company were allowed to transport goods belonging to the Adventurers or any other English merchants to or from England into the city. In order to prevent the illegal import of goods belonging to Englishmen all incoming skippers on ships from England and belonging to Hamburgers or foreigners were to show the manifest of their registered goods at the toll first to the city's magistrates and then to the court-master. This condition mainly affected the trade with English cloth on which the Adventurers held the monopoly. However, some exceptions to the free exchange of goods applied in order to guarantee the provision of Hamburg with corn and to protect the local industry and trade. Thus, the Adventurers had to observe the staple for wine, corn, cloth and timber and were not allowed to export corn which was grown on the banks of the Lower Elbe and which instead had to be brought to Hamburg, Bremen, Stade, Buxtehude or Holstein. In addition they were only allowed to refine or dye cloth in the city according to the methods used in Frankfurt and Upper Germany. Cloth which had been processed in the city was not to be sold to foreigners in Hamburg but had to be exported to Upper Germany, Leipzig or Frankfurt. The company was permitted to elect its own representatives (a court-master, a deputy and several assistants) who were granted judicial rights as they could dispense justice in disputes among the company's merchants and between Adventurers and other Englishmen (even if they did not belong to the company) in accordance with the provisions of the royal charters to the

³⁴ Baumann, *The Merchant Adventurers*, 262–276.

³⁵ StAH, Senat, III-I CL. VI Nr. 2 Vol. 5 Fasc. 1 Inv. 1b, Contract, Hamburg Senate/Merchant Adventurers, 1618. The contract was closed specifically between English subjects belonging to the company, represented by Richard Gore (Courtmaster), William Bruen (Treasurer), G. Baldwin, Thomas Baylie and Joseph Averie (Secretary) and the city, represented by three senators. A Latin and an English version of the contract are available in TNA, SP103/31, fol. 191–211, 212–215.

³⁶ Ibid.; Hitziggrath, *Die Handelsbeziehungen*, 20.

company.³⁷ Furthermore, the company received a house, which was to be maintained at the cost of the city, where it could hold court and conduct business. The Adventurers were also permitted to hold private religious services in the building. Notably, the denomination of these services was not specified in the contract. The services were only subject to the obligation that they had to be held in the English language without causing any public stir.³⁸ Thus, the company's church was—at least in theory—able to house a vast spectrum of Anglicanism which might encompass all from Low-church puritans to high Anglo-Catholics. Its minister would have been permitted to conduct reformed services.

Although the Adventurers' favourable trade privileges restricted their activities, Hamburg's merchants continued to engage themselves in trade with England. They imported commodities from London and Dover including hosiery, leather, skins, wool and colonial products, as well as stone coal (from Newcastle). In turn Hamburg's traders supplied English ports with beer, corn, honey and metals as well as products from the Iberian market.³⁹ Although the commercial exchange of (unfinished) cloth remained in the hands of the Adventurers, Hamburg's industry profited from the presence of the company and their supplies.⁴⁰ The Adventurers also attracted trade with Bremen (city) merchants who re-exported English cloth to Bremen's hinterland.⁴¹ Furthermore, the company supplied Bremen traders with stone coals enabling them to engage in an entrepôt trade with this commodity to Flanders. In exchange, Bremen's merchants supplied the Adventurers with Italian silk, Nuremberg goods

³⁷ StAH, Senat, III-I CL. VI Nr. 2 Vol. 5 Fasc. 1 Inv. 1b., Contract, Hamburg/Merchant Adventurers, 1618. However, in the case of an accusation of a citizen, inhabitant or foreigner by an English merchant the defendant was to be allowed to choose between the court of the Adventurers and the court of the city. If on the other hand an English merchant was accused by a citizen, inhabitant or foreigner he was to be tried in front of the city's magistrates.

³⁸ Ibid. In addition the company was granted the permission to bury its dead in Hamburg's churches and graveyards and no minister of Hamburg was allowed to attack the Adventurers on the basis of their faith. For further analysis of the contract see Hitzigraß, *Die Handelsbeziehungen*, 16–21.

³⁹ Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 55–56, 156. Hamburg's society of merchants trading with England (*Englandfahrer*) was exclusively of social function during the seventeenth century. Only eight of the 144 merchants trading with England between 1644 and 1646 were its members.

⁴⁰ Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 198–199.

⁴¹ Hans Jürgen von Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 44 (1955), 138–139.

as well as canvas and wool.⁴² Apart from their trade with the company, traders from Bremen also sold vital produces to Hamburg's dyers as well as commodities from the Dutch markets while purchasing Baltic products at Hamburg.⁴³

The third and largest group of foreigners in Hamburg consisted of Lutheran and Calvinist exiles and migrants who had likewise left the Northern and Southern Netherlands and who settled in Hamburg from the 1580s. In 1605 they entered into a contract with the city which regulated matters of taxation and freed the Dutch from military duties.⁴⁴ Although the contract had covered adherents of both Protestant faiths Lutheran Dutch migrants usually acquired full citizen rights, achieving influential positions within Hamburg's society. Reformed services remained prohibited and Calvinists commuted first to Stade (until 1619) and then to Altona to worship.⁴⁵ The foreign merchants contributed significantly to the economic development of the city. Portuguese and Dutch migrants were involved in the foundation of Hamburg's bank in 1619 which strengthened the city's importance as a European financial market.⁴⁶ Furthermore, they brought capital and commercial networks to Hamburg stimulating the exchange by Hamburg's merchants with the Iberian Peninsula and the United Provinces. For example, textiles purchased at Augsburg, Memmingen, Nuremberg and Leipzig as well as English cloth reached the Spanish and Portuguese ports via Hamburg.⁴⁷ In turn, Hamburg merchants bought local produces like lemons, oil, olives, raisins, salt, wine and wool and colonial products such as indigo, spices or tropical wood. These commodities were re-exported to the Baltic as well as to the Elbe-Weser region and places further afield within the Empire.⁴⁸ The Dutch cities also became an important market for colonial products as well as for commodities from the Rhineland and the Mediterranean.⁴⁹

⁴² Ibid., 146. It is not known if Hamburg merchants also participated in the entrepôt trade of English cloth to Flanders or other territories. See Ernst Baasch, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt und Waarenhandel vom Ende des 16. bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *ZVHG*, vol. 9 (1894), 295–420, 373.

⁴³ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 138–139.

⁴⁴ Whaley, *Religious Toleration*, 112, 119. This contract was renewed in 1615 and 1639.

⁴⁵ Ibid. See also below.

⁴⁶ Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte im Hamburger Portugal- und Spanienhandel 1590–1625*, (Hamburg, 1954), 253–259; Loose, 'Das Zeitalter', 328–329.

⁴⁷ Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte*, 68–78; Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 220–223.

⁴⁸ Kellenbenz, *Unternehmerkräfte*, 88–90.

⁴⁹ Baasch, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt', 309–310.

In addition, Hamburg developed into one of the most important outlets for Dutch herring.⁵⁰

The Spanish-Dutch War also had a bearing on Hamburg's trade in that it allowed the city to provide vital imports for the Dutch and Iberian markets. The interruption of the commercial exchange between both powers and the need for armaments enabled Hamburg merchants to become important suppliers of raw materials such as copper, saltpetre and timber from the Baltic.⁵¹ In the United Provinces these were turned into weapons and ammunition and re-exported to Hamburg which in turn supplied the Dutch enemies with these finished articles. The city's merchants also re-exported vital commodities such as corn and other victuals to the Iberian Peninsula which derived from areas within the wider Elbe-Weser region including Holstein, Bremen Stift and the district of Kehdingen.⁵²

Controlling the Elbe

Hamburg's rise during the sixteenth and seventeenth century was thus greatly helped by external conflicts which opened new markets and directly or indirectly prompted the move of profitable migrants to the city. In addition, the Hamburgers were able to ward off the dangers of the Thirty Years' War which was frequently fought in the city's immediate vicinity. Due to the senate's neutral policy, Hamburg managed to avoid occupation. Strong defensive fortifications, which were constructed between 1616 and 1626, also protected the city.⁵³ Furthermore, Hamburg continued to provide such an essential market for armaments and information that all belligerent parties abstained from involving the city in the conflict directly. The city also played a crucial role, particularly for Sweden, in the financing of war.⁵⁴ Scholars thus agree that the Thirty Years' War

⁵⁰ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 140.

⁵¹ Julia Zuncel, *Rüstungsgeschäfte im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Unternehmerkräfte, Militärgüter und Marktstrategien im Handel zwischen Genua, Amsterdam und Hamburg* (Berlin, 1997), 68–76. See also Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 221–223.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Loose, 'Das Zeitalter', 260–264.

⁵⁴ Knauer and Tode, 'Einleitung', in Knauer and Tode (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren*, 21–22; Michael Busch, 'Die Landung der Schweden: Entlastung oder Bedrohung für Hamburg?', in Knauer and Tode (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren*, 127–143; Stephan Michael Schröder, 'Hamburg und Schweden im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Vom potentiellen

had an overall positive impact on Hamburg's development while the surrounding region suffered due to the continual conflict.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the city's ascent was not without difficulties and her status and security were by no means always guaranteed. The dependency on the river and free access to the North Sea made Hamburg vulnerable, not least due to environmental impacts. The lower reaches of the Elbe became frozen in the winter months, preventing ships from entering or leaving the port. Adverse winds from the east or west also delayed ships. Most importantly however, the aforementioned wars and conflicts brought not only advantages, but also serious problems for the city, her inhabitants and the surrounding territories. The river Elbe functioned as a bottle-neck of strategic importance which local and foreign powers exploited to enforce their commercial policies and military aims. The Dutch and English merchants in Hamburg were among those who held a particular interest in the river. Their presence increased the competition for free access to the Elbe, especially at times when their home countries were at war with each other (1652–1654; 1665–1667; 1672–1674). The protection of the Merchant Adventurers from internal and external conflicts was a major concern for official English and Scottish residents, who represented the Stuart monarchy within the city. Five years after the cessation of the twelve year truce between Spain and the Dutch Republic (1609–1621), Hamburg was observed to be one of the few places in Northern Europe still exporting victuals and essential military supplies to the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁶ The Stuart monarchy and the United Provinces sought to hinder this commercial exchange with their enemy by sending at least two English and four Dutch men-of-war to control the mouth of the river Elbe.⁵⁷ There were however several factors which prevented forceful proceedings against the Hamburg merchant fleet. The Hamburg ships pretended to be destined for Leghorn in Italy and several other ports in France rather than Spain, making legal persecution difficult.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the presence of the Merchant Adventurers caused concerns that a harsh treatment of

Bündnispartner zum Zentrum der Kriegsfinanzierung', *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 76 (1989), 305–331.

⁵⁵ See for example Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren', 145–180.

⁵⁶ TNA, SP75/7 fol. 138, (Robert) Anstruther, abstracts of various letters, 26 April–25 May 1626.

⁵⁷ TNA, SP75/7 fol. 119–123, Anstruther to Conway, Hamburg, 23 May 1626; SP16/19, fol. 169, Estimate, January 1626.

⁵⁸ TNA, SP75/7, fol. 34–35, Anstruther to Conway, Hamburg, 23 February 1626 and SP75/7, fol. 138, Anstruther, Abstract of Letters, 26 April–25 May 1626.

the Hamburgers would jeopardise their safety within the city.⁵⁹ Waiting for a commission from England which would allow him to intervene more strongly against the vessels leaving the Elbe, the Stuart diplomat Sir Robert Anstruther led intensive negotiations with the Hamburg senate. In these he rejected the senate's claim of jurisdiction on the Elbe by pointing out that other powers were already claiming a *de facto* right over the river.⁶⁰ According to Anstruther, Dutch and Dunkirk ships were pursuing each other on the Elbe, whereas Danish ships continuously passed the river with other vessels paying homage to them.⁶¹ Furthermore, the town of Stade received a small toll from all ships, including those belonging to Hamburg. Anstruther furthermore pointed out that Hamburg had no possession along the river banks from their town to the place where the English ships were positioned.⁶² Playing for time, the Stuart representative thus advised the Hamburgers to unload the prohibited goods and to send envoys to England in order to negotiate their sending of commodities to France and Leghorn.⁶³ Although the English and Dutch ships did not confiscate any commodities, they seriously disrupted Hamburg's commercial traffic. This was especially so as the presence of the foreign men-of-war did not only affect Hamburg vessels but also those of other powers trading within the Lower Elbe region.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the presence of the Merchant Adventurers prevented an overly aggressive behaviour by the English ships out of fear of reprisals of Hamburg citizens against the Adventurer's community and led Anstruther to search for a diplomatic solution.

Dutch and English maritime activity on the river Elbe did not solely focus on the prevention of trade between Hamburg and Spain but also sought to protect their own merchant fleets from attacks. The Merchant Adventurers frequently requested convoys to safeguard their ships from Dunkirk privateers who patrolled the mouth of the Elbe and the waters

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ TNA, SP75/7, fol. 119–123, Anstruther to Conway, Hamburg, 23 May 1626.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ For example, in 1626 several ships belonging to the town of Tönningen (situated at the river Eider within the county of Holstein-Gottorp) had sailed around the coast of Holstein into the Elbe to sell commodities in Hamburg. On their return they were stopped and searched by the English ships whose commandants also threatened to cut off their access to the North Sea through the Eider upon the suspicion that they were trading with Spain. LAS, Abteilung 7, Holstein-Gottorp, No. 3368, Jürgen von der Wisch to Count Friedrich, 26 October 1626.

around the island of Helgoland.⁶⁵ The estuary of the river Elbe thus became a heavily contested waterway where several local and foreign interests crossed each other.

In order to protect their trade from increasing threats of maritime violence the Hamburgers founded the Hamburg Admiralty (1623), which equipped merchant vessels with soldiers, canons and ammunition. However, the above dealings with Anstruther and the fact that English and Dutch ships could blockade the mouth of the river with relative ease demonstrates the limited success of this institution in guarding the city's shipping.⁶⁶ This situation led some Hamburg merchants to temporarily avoid the river Elbe altogether by sending their commodities to the Baltic via the city of Lübeck and from there through the Danish Sound to the North Sea.⁶⁷ Unfortunately for them this circuitous route proved to be unsuccessful. This was not least as Hamburg's difficulties resulted not solely from Stuart and Dutch hostilities against their trade with Spain. The city's position was also threatened by the monarchs of Denmark-Norway, whose territories as Dukes of Holstein bordered Hamburg to the west and north. King Christian IV (1588–1648) aimed for supremacy in the North Sea (*Dominium Maris Septentrionalis*) and in the Baltic (*Dominium Maris Baltici*). This interest was linked with his goal of establishing greater control over Northern Germany which was not least pursued to counter-balance the growing power of Denmark-Norway's rival, Sweden, in the Baltic area.⁶⁸ In particular, the Danish-Norwegian king aimed for control over the Elbe and Hamburg which, in his view, was legally under his jurisdiction as ruler of Holstein. In 1603 the city was forced to pay tribute to Christian IV, although the Hamburgers were effectively allowed to remain independent.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, tensions increased in the 1610s and 1620s, particularly when the senate of Hamburg and the Danish king clashed over the issue of the company of English Merchant Adventurers. At the

⁶⁵ TNA, SP 16/527 fol. 16, Petition, Merchant Adventurers to the Lord Admiral Buckingham, 4 November 1627.

⁶⁶ It was only in 1668/1669 that the city purchased its own convoy ships, lending greater protection to Hamburg's vessels. Loose, 'Das Zeitalter', 329–330.

⁶⁷ *APC*, Vol. 41, 156.

⁶⁸ For more information on Danish-Swedish relations in this period see Martin Bellamy, *Christian IV and His Navy: A Political and Administrative History of the Danish Navy 1596–1648* (Leiden/Boston, 2006), 9–25; Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Denmark in the Thirty Years' War 1618–1648: King Christian IV and the Decline of the Oldenburg State* (London, 1996), 71–74.

⁶⁹ Hans-Dieter Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV. von Dänemark während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Reichsunmittelbarkeit* (Hamburg, 1963), 3.

beginning of the seventeenth century Christian IV had aimed to draw the Merchant Adventurers to Krempe in Holstein, but was ultimately unsuccessful when they settled in Hamburg in 1611.⁷⁰

Since effective control over the city had proven difficult and since Christian IV sought not only political but also economic supremacy in Northwest Germany he exerted measures to hinder Hamburg's trade. First of all, he abolished free shipping through the Sound for Hamburg's ships and did not renew the concession of Hamburg's merchants to trade with Iceland which expired in 1601. Furthermore, the king acquired the district of Wandsbek in 1614, in the northeast of Hamburg, and founded the town of Glückstadt in 1616 on the upper Elbe to which he awarded city status the following year.⁷¹ In order to attract new citizens to Glückstadt, Christian IV granted tax and religious privileges, successfully drawing a number of exiles from the Netherlands and exiled Jews from Portugal to the town.⁷² Despite these measures Christian IV's famous wish that 'with God's help Glückstadt will become a city and Hamburg a village' was not fulfilled, as merchants preferred the well-established facilities of the larger metropolis.⁷³ This was not least since Glückstadt was more vulnerable during the ensuing conflicts of the seventeenth century than its larger neighbour.⁷⁴ However, Glückstadt was not only meant to pose an economic threat to Hamburg but also functioned to secure a gateway crossing over the river into the Elbe-Weser area, which Christian IV sought to bring under his control. For this purpose Glückstadt was fortified and strongly garrisoned.⁷⁵ Christian's goal to broaden his influence south of the Elbe was temporarily achieved when Danish troops occupied the area around Stade situated in Bremen in 1619. This territory, as well as the adjacent territory of Verden, was of significance to any political power seeking to territory the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire

⁷⁰ See above. *KCFB*, I, 70–71, Christian IV to Duke Henrik Julius of Brunswick, Fredericksborg, 22 December 1611; *SRA*, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E724, Jakob Spens to (Axel) Oxenstierna, London, 25 July 1614; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 3–4; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 31–32.

⁷¹ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 3–5.

⁷² Löding, 'Die Gründung', 177; Ramm, 'Altona', 345. The district of Wandsbek was under Danish control between 1614 and 1641.

⁷³ *KCFB*, IV, 356, Christian IV to Corfitz Ulfeldt, Glückstadt, 17 June 1640, '... Som det med Gudz hielp uell gor, daa bliiffuer Glyckstadt En Bye och Hamborg En landsbye...'; Bellamy, *Christian IV and his Navy*, 36.

⁷⁴ Kellenbenz, *Sephardim*, 62–70. In 1627/28 Glückstadt was besieged by Imperial troops.

⁷⁵ Löding, 'Die Gründung', 178.

as by controlling them they effectively gained influence over the mouth of the Elbe as well as the Weser and thus over the trade of both the cities of Hamburg and Bremen.⁷⁶ The Danish hostilities led the senate to seek help from the Emperor, whose interest it was to protect Hamburg's position within the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1618 the Imperial court (*Reichskammergericht*) confirmed Hamburg's status as a free city (*Freie Reichsstadt*). However, Christian IV contested this judgement and sought to increase his pressure on Hamburg by reinforcing his claim of dominion over the river Elbe.⁷⁷ This claim was not least expressed by the positioning of two Danish men-of-war at Glückstadt which stopped and searched all by-passing ships.⁷⁸

Christian IV's occupation of Stade at the southern banks of the river Elbe and the march of Danish troops into the county of Holstein-Pinneberg in March 1621 (which were assembled to fight against the Imperial forces after the Protestant defeat in the Battle of the White Mountain in November 1620) forced the senate of Hamburg to accept his and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp's overlordship (Treaty of Steinburg). This agreement was to remain in place until Christian IV's appeal against the verdict of the Imperial court on Hamburg's imperial immediacy (*Reichsunmittelbarkeit*) of 1618 had been decided.⁷⁹ Despite the legal disadvantages the treaty implied for Hamburg, the accord impacted positively on the city's trade in that it stopped Danish obstructions on the Elbe. Furthermore, Hamburg's merchants were restored some trade privileges in Danish territories which had been taken away from them in 1603.⁸⁰ In 1622 Christian IV even permitted the Danish Icelandic company to trade commodities through Hamburg, although he sought to attract the same company to Glückstadt the following year in order to circumnavigate the Hamburg market. Despite Christian IV's efforts this latter plan remained unsuccessful as Icelandic commodities continued to be landed in the commercial hub which was given preference by the Danish merchants.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Brüning, *Niedersachsen*, 35.

⁷⁷ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 7–8, 13–14.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 13–14.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 18–20.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸¹ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 21; Ernst Baasch, *Die Islandfahrt der Deutschen, namentlich der Hamburger vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1889), 55; Johan Jørgensen, 'Denmark's Relations with Lübeck and Hamburg in the Seventeenth Century', *The Scandinavian Economic Review*, vol. 11/2 (1963), 79.

In addition to his temporary successes in Stade and Hamburg the Danish monarch initiated the election of his son Frederick as coadjutor in Bremen (1621) and administrator in Verden (1623). As coadjutor Frederick gained the right of succession to the archbishop's seat, an office held by Johann Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp between 1596 and 1634.⁸² Christian IV's spreading influence in Northwest Germany was acknowledged by the Swedish representative in the United Provinces, Jan Rutgers, who reported from Hamburg to the Swedish chancellor Axel Oxenstierna that Christian IV had now made himself master not only over the river Elbe, but also over the river Weser.⁸³

In 1625 Christian IV became the Lieutenant-General of the Lower Saxon Circle, intervening openly in the conflict against the Emperor and the fight to restore the Palatinate to the Winter King Frederick V and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of the Stuart monarch James VI and I.⁸⁴ The same year Danish troops occupied several fortifications in Bremen *Stift*, Verden *Stift* and Westphalia. The Danish monarch furthermore guarded the Elbe and the Weser with ten and five ships respectively, not least to protect the rivers from anticipated attacks by the Dunkirk fleet.⁸⁵ He also joined the English and Dutch ships in their endeavours to disrupt Hamburg's trade with Spain.⁸⁶ However, the Swedish commissioner in The Hague, Ludwig Camerarius, noted the threat of the Emperor and Philip IV taking control over the Elbe and Weser, including a possible occupation of Hamburg and Bremen, which would make both the Danish and the Swedish monarchs vulnerable, revealing the profound security interests connected to the control over both waterways.⁸⁷ After the battle at Lutter (17 August 1626), which proved to be disastrous for Denmark-Norway, Imperial troops threatened the newly acquired Danish territories.

⁸² Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 175; Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Denmark 1513–1660: The Rise and Decline of a Renaissance Monarchy* (Oxford, 2007), 160–161; Heinz-Joachim Schulze, 'Der Regierungsbezirk Stade: Verwaltungsbezirk und historische Landschaftsbildung', in Carl Haase (ed.), *Niedersachsen: Territorien—Verwaltungseinheiten—geschichtliche Landschaften* (Göttingen, 1971), 219–220.

⁸³ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E702, Jan Rutgers to Oxenstierna, Hamburg, 27 September 1621.

⁸⁴ Lockhart, *Denmark*, 163–166.

⁸⁵ TNA, SP 75/6, fol. 152–156, Anstruther to Conway, Altona, 11 September 1625 and fol. 178–183, Anstruther to Conway, Altona, 12 October 1625; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 24–25.

⁸⁶ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 24.

⁸⁷ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E577, Ludwig Camerarius to Oxenstierna, without place, 23 September 1625.

Christian IV's new strategy consisted of maintaining strong garrisons in order to defend his possessions in Brunswick and along the rivers Elbe and Weser.⁸⁸ In order to help his uncle, the Stuart king Charles I had sent Scottish ships to the Elbe as early as May 1626.⁸⁹ In February the following year, he also sent English troops which had been stationed in the United Provinces to the wider Elbe-Weser region.⁹⁰ Under the command of the Welsh colonel Charles Morgan they were meant to sail into the river Weser to disembark in Bremen *Stift* where they were to guard and defend a redoubt which Christian IV had recently erected upon the river in order to cut off the enemy's trade with the city of Bremen.⁹¹ Furthermore, the Danish monarch had created a bridge of boats at the Weser which was to enable him to send cavalry troops into Münster, Paderborn and Westphalia. It was planned that these were to hinder any supplies from Spain reaching the Imperial troops via the various land routes which run through these territories.⁹² However, Morgan and his troops had missed their orders before their departure from the United Provinces and had entered the region via the river Elbe.⁹³ When the news arrived that the Count of Tilly, commander of the Imperial forces, was marching towards the redoubt at Bremen, Morgan's troops (which Anstruther estimated at 2450 men), 1000 Scottish troops of Mackay's regiment and a German regiment were deployed for its defence and marched from the Elbe to the Weser.⁹⁴ There they were quartered in Lehe and Neukirchen which belonged to the city of Bremen.⁹⁵ In June 1627 the troops were reinforced by further troops from England who had landed on the southern banks of the river Elbe under the command of captains Francis Cunningsby and Archibald Douglas (a Scot).⁹⁶ By this time Morgan had moved his camp to the conjunction of the rivers Weser and Aller, emphasising once again

⁸⁸ TNA, SP75/8, fol. 76–77, Anstruther to Conway, Altona, 20 April 1627.

⁸⁹ Steve Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas? Scottish Maritime Warfare, 1513–1713* (Leiden/Boston, 2010), 181.

⁹⁰ TNA, SP 75/8 fol. 10–11, (Conway) to Anstruther, without place, 21 February 1627; E.A. Beller, 'The Military Expedition of Sir Charles Morgan to Germany, 1627–9', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 43 (1928), 528–530; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 68.

⁹¹ TNA, SP 75/8 fol. 57–58, Anstruther to Conway, Hamburg, 24 March 1627.

⁹² TNA, SP 75/8, fol. 76–77, Anstruther to Conway, Altona, 20 April 1627.

⁹³ TNA, SP 75/8 fol. 57–58, Anstruther to Conway, Hamburg, 24 March 1627.

⁹⁴ TNA, SP 75/8, fol. 76–77, Anstruther to Conway, Altona, 20 April 1627; Beller, 'The Military Expedition', 531. See also Brockington (ed.), *Monro, Robert*, 14–19.

⁹⁵ SAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1625–1627, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.4., 227, 5 April 1627.

⁹⁶ TNA, SP 75/8 fol. 148, (Charles) Morgan to Viscount (Edward) Conway, Quarter in Wasserbaden, 12 June 1627.

the importance of rivers in the Danish defence strategy.⁹⁷ However, with the Imperial forces gaining strength in the region, Morgan's troops were ordered to withdraw to Stade.⁹⁸

Despite his best efforts, Christian IV's control of the Elbe began to crumble from July 1627. The Imperial forces gained in strength in the north and eventually crossed the river at Boitzenburg in the east from where they marched into Holstein and Dithmarschen, including territories ruled by the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.⁹⁹ The Imperial successes prompted 300 Hamburg citizens to refuse to pay any duties to the local authorities until they gained free access to the Elbe.¹⁰⁰ Fearing that the Hamburgers would support the Imperial side, the Danish monarch sought to appease them by making requests to the Stuart representative Robert Anstruther and the English ships in the Elbe to let the city's fleet pass the river unmolested.¹⁰¹ This prompted Anstruther to ask the English Admiral and Vice-Admiral if they could fight the Hamburgers within the Elbe without hazarding their vessels. He was informed that the shallow waters would restrict their manoeuvres and provide a great risk to them.¹⁰² Despite this hazard, Anstruther believed deeply in the importance of controlling the river Elbe in this critical situation, stating that

(...) soe long as wee are able to command the Elve, the Hamburgers will carry good respect unto us, and I am persuaded that if there come speedily some English and Holland shippes within the Elve and ride some at Luckstadt (Glückstadt), and some at the mouth of the Swing (Schwinge) going into Stade, wee shall by this meanes draw those of Hamburg to refuse to send any more to Wallensteins army having then a good excuse that the river is shut up from them and that the Burgers will not suffer provisions to goe forth of the Towne (...).¹⁰³

In order to win over the Hamburgers, Anstruther suggested sending pacifying letters to the senate and agreed with the Danish request to allow the city's ships to leave the Elbe without being searched.¹⁰⁴ The Hamburg

⁹⁷ Ibid.; Beller, 'The Military Expedition', 531.

⁹⁸ TNA, SP75/9 fol. 4, Anstruther to Viscount Conway, 5 January 1628; Beller, 'The Military Expedition', 532.

⁹⁹ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 244–245, Anstruther to Carleton, Hamburg, 1 August 1627; Jörg Rathjen, *Soldaten im Dorf: Ländliche Gesellschaft und Kriege in den Herzogtümern Schleswig und Holstein 1625–1720* (Kiel, 2004), 39–40.

¹⁰⁰ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 240, Anstruther to Sackville Trevor, Hamburg, 29 July 1627.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² TNA, SP75/8, fol. 248, Anstruther to ?, Hamburg, 6 August 1627.

¹⁰³ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 300, Anstruther to ?, Hamburg, 15 September 1627.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

authorities recognised their negotiation powers and pressed not only for free access to the North Sea but also the friendly treatment of their ships by English and Scottish men-of-war on the open sea. In particular, they demanded the release of several vessels and commodities which had been taken into arrest in England and Scotland the previous year.¹⁰⁵

Anstruther's deliberations regarding the Hamburgers were influenced by the changing climate in Hamburg which had begun seriously to affect the Merchant Adventurers who sent their wives and children for safety in England.¹⁰⁶ The diplomat himself had been warned by the Hamburg senate to keep a low profile although the mayor, Hieronymus Vogeler, encouraged him to remain in Hamburg and promised him his personal protection.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the Hamburg authorities granted Anstruther the status of public minister and ambassador to the Emperor and to the Princes of the Empire assuring him that he would receive ample warning if the Emperor desired his departure from the city.¹⁰⁸ However, there was more at stake than Anstruther's personal security or the security of the company. The diplomat believed that it would be possible to maintain Holstein as long as the Protestant forces could keep the command of the Elbe. This in turn would enable them to recover completely in the following spring, possibly with the help of other occurrences such as a Turkish invasion of Hungary.¹⁰⁹ For Anstruther the outcome of the entire war thus hinged on the control of the river.

In order to protect the Elbe, maintenance of Stade, Buxtehude, Glückstadt and Krempe was crucial and Anstruther was hopeful that these places could be defended with the help of Morgan's English as well as Scottish and German troops.¹¹⁰ However, these troops were in a poor condition and cut off from the Danish monarch and his army who had retired to Denmark.¹¹¹ Failing to secure money elsewhere, Anstruther persuaded the Merchant Adventurers to provide a sum of 13,000 Imperial dollars to pay the soldiers and officers. Their willingness to lend this

¹⁰⁵ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 415–416, Anstruther to Viscount Conway, Hamburg 11 December 1627.

¹⁰⁶ TNA, SP75/8, fol. 248, Anstruther to ?, Hamburg, 6 August 1627.

¹⁰⁷ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 244–245, Anstruther to Carleton, Hamburg, 1 August 1627; SP75/8, fol. 248, Anstruther to ?, Hamburg, 6 August 1627.

¹⁰⁸ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 398–408, Anstruther to Viscount Conway, Hamburg, 30 November 1627.

¹⁰⁹ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 307, Anstruther to ?, 16 September 1627.

¹¹⁰ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 300, Anstruther to ?, Hamburg, 15 September 1627.

¹¹¹ TNA, SP75/8, fol. 338–339, Anstruther to (Carleton), Hamburg, 4 October 1627; SP75/8, fol. 380–381, Morgan to Conway, Stade, 1 November 1627.

considerable sum derived not least from their own safety and interest which was linked to the success of the troops.¹¹² Despite their financial help, Stade was surrendered on 27 April 1628 and Morgan's troops were forced to consent to leave Danish service for the next six months.¹¹³ They were sent back to the United Provinces with only sick and injured troops being allowed to lodge at Glückstadt.¹¹⁴ Anstruther complained that the English troops (which were joined by 300 Scottish and 400 Dutch) were not allowed the use of any river for their transport which was anticipated to worsen their condition.¹¹⁵

After the fall of Stade, the importance of maritime power on the Elbe and the keeping of Glückstadt increased even more. Additional ships (seven Danish and three Dutch) were sent into the Elbe to ward off the Dunkirk fleet and to deter the Hamburgers from siding with the Imperial side.¹¹⁶ The Danish king planned to erect a fort at the island of Krautsand, situated within the river, much to the annoyance of the Hamburg senate who had aspired to build a fortress at the same place the previous year.¹¹⁷ In order to pacify the Hamburgers in this matter, Anstruther suggested that the Stuart monarch and the Protestant allies would ensure that the fort would not be used against their ship traffic or as a means to collect a toll on the Elbe.¹¹⁸

The Emperor likewise sought to win the support of the Hamburg senate. On 24 May 1628, he granted the city full control of the Elbe (*Elbprivileg*). The new privilege guaranteed free access to the river and specifically prohibited the establishment of fortresses along its banks. In return the Hamburgers were obliged to keep the Elbe free off privateers and enemies in as much as they were able to do so.¹¹⁹ The following month an Imperial siege was laid on Glückstadt and Krempe.¹²⁰ In order to relieve these places General Charles Morgan's troops were once again deployed from the United Provinces, in breach of their agreement to stay outside Danish

¹¹² TNA, SP75/8 fol. 398–408, Anstruther to Viscount Conway, Hamburg, 30 November 1627.

¹¹³ TNA, SP75/9 fol. 124, John Bere to Viscount Conway, Hamburg, 28 April 1628; Beller, 'The Military Expedition', 534.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ TNA, SP 75/8 fol. 128–129, Anstruther to Viscount Conway, Hamburg, 3 May 1628.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 34–35; Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 235.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 32–33.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 34–35; Schukys, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges', 235.

service for the duration of six month. Sailing in sight of the coast without convoy, Morgan arrived in the Elbe on 31 October 1628, just a day too late to prevent Krempe from being surrendered to the enemy.¹²¹ Thereafter, Morgan's troops were stationed in Glückstadt under appalling conditions. The deputy and secretary of the Merchant Adventurers lent a sum of 2,000 Imperial dollars to relief the troops but other company members were less forthcoming, not least as they had not been repaid the full sums they had provided in previous years.¹²² The situation of those in Glückstadt worsened further when the passage to and from Hamburg became less secure due to the Hamburgers removing their buoys, markers and small convoy ships, in fear of the Elbe becoming frozen in December. This made all ships sailing between the Danish fortress and Hamburg vulnerable to attacks from the forts occupied by the Imperial forces.¹²³ In the following months, worries over an inadequate number of Danish ships to defend the Elbe increased.¹²⁴ Despite these difficulties, General Morgan decided to reside in Hamburg temporarily, not least due to his strong dislike of the Danish commandant of the fortress.¹²⁵ He returned to his troops in Glückstadt in March 1629 to embark unto one last mission on behalf of the Danish monarch the following month.¹²⁶ Together with two Scottish and three Dutch regiments, Morgan sailed from the Elbe to the island of Föhr where he joined his troops with further soldiers who had arrived from Denmark and included English companies.¹²⁷ Thereafter, Morgan and his troops took possession of the island of Nordstrand, across the estuaries of the rivers Hever and Eider.¹²⁸ Positioning men-of-war on these waterways, they were successful in trapping two ships from Dunkirk and Ostend. However, Morgan's order to attack the mainland of Holstein, belonging to the Duke of Holstein (who had received the Imperial troops into his

¹²¹ TNA, SP75/9 fol. 272, Morgan to Secretary of State, Glückstadt, 8 November 1628; SP75/9 fol. 276–280, Anstruther to Viscount Conway, Hamburg, 12 November 1628; Beller, 'The Military Expedition', 536–538.

¹²² TNA, SP75/9 fol. 276–280, Anstruther to Viscount Conway, Hamburg, 12 November 1628; SP75/9 fol. 287–288, (Joseph) Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 12 November 1628.

¹²³ TNA, SP75/9 fol. 347–348, Anstruther to Viscount Conway, Hamburg, 13 December 1628.

¹²⁴ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 149–150, Morgan to Dorchester, Föhr, 22 April 1629.

¹²⁵ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 9–10, Morgan to (Dorchester), Glückstadt, 8 January 1629.

¹²⁶ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 77–78, Thomas Conway to Viscount Conway, Glückstadt, 7 March 1629.

¹²⁷ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 149–150, Morgan to Doncaster, Föhr, 22 April 1629.

¹²⁸ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 162–263, Morgan to Dorchester, Nordstrand, 12 May 1629; Beller, 'The Military Expedition', 538–539.

territories) came to nothing. This was just as Christian IV signed the peace of Lübeck with the Imperialists (22 May 1629), resulting in the dismissal of Morgan's troops and their departure to the United Provinces.¹²⁹ Given his weak military position, the treaty contained generous conditions for the Danish monarch who was forced to give up Bremen and Verden and his membership of the Lower Saxon Circle. In exchange, he was allowed to retain his territories in Holstein.¹³⁰

The keeping of Holstein allowed Christian IV to continue his policy on the river Elbe and his dispute with the city of Hamburg. The Danish monarch hindered the transport of grain on the Elbe, the river Stör and other waterways which connected Holstein and Dithmarschen with the North Sea, in order to disturb Hamburg's continued trade with Spain.¹³¹ He also planned to enlarge Glückstadt's harbour and to fortify the town.¹³² From the end of March 1630 Danish men-of-war searched vessels passing the Danish port and stopped those transporting Danish goods from sailing to Hamburg.¹³³ In addition Christian insisted that Dutch and Hamburg ships pay a toll, despite the Imperial privilege (*Elbprivileg*) the city had received two years previously.¹³⁴

Christian IV's behaviour prompted the Hamburg senate to approach Robert Anstruther to assist them in their attempts to have the toll abolished.¹³⁵ The Danish impositions did initially not affect English or Scottish ships but the Stuart diplomat feared that this would not remain the case for long.¹³⁶ He thus advised the Hamburg authorities to send a representative to Glückstadt to negotiate with the king.¹³⁷ However, proper talks did not materialise as Christian IV simply justified his toll by explaining that the Hamburg merchants had been exempted from tolls and duties in his kingdom for many years whereas Danish traders had been charged by the Hamburg authorities. Thus, he argued, he was just

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Bellamy, *Christian IV and his Navy*, 19, Lockhart, *Denmark*, 170–172. The generous conditions derived from Sweden and Denmark-Norway demonstrating some temporary military unity before the treaty was closed.

¹³¹ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 344–345, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 21 November 1629.

¹³² TNA, SP75/11 fol. 24–25, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 13 March 1630.

¹³³ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 37–38.

¹³⁴ TNA, SP 75/11 fol. 43–44, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 14 April 1630; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 38–39.

¹³⁵ TNA, SP 75/11 fol. 43–44, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 14 April 1630.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

claiming back 'borrowed money'.¹³⁸ In his eyes, the Peace of Lübeck had invalidated the Imperial privilege of 1628.¹³⁹

Anstruther continued to labour for an accommodation between both sides due to the entanglement of the trade of Stuart subjects in their dispute.¹⁴⁰ However, he could not prevent an (unsuccessful) attack of the Hamburgers on the Danish king (who met Hamburg troops outside Glückstadt) and a ship blockade of the Danish port.¹⁴¹ The conflict culminated in the taking of four Danish ships and the disrespectful treatment of the Danish flag which was dragged through the water behind one of the captured ships.¹⁴² The unwillingness of the Hamburgers to return the vessels thwarted all attempts of mediation between the city and the Danish monarch.¹⁴³ Next to local and foreign powers Anstruther and his colleague, the English diplomat Sir Thomas Roe, engaged themselves in discussions with Christian IV and the Hamburg senate, which remained however unsuccessful.¹⁴⁴ The Stuart diplomats generally took the side of the Danish monarch. Anstruther in particular considered trade interests and pointed out the importance of Glückstadt for English, Scottish and Dutch shipping. This was because apart from Freiburg (which was held by Imperial troops), there was no other safe harbour for English and Scottish ships during the winter months and in times of stormy weather in the Elbe.¹⁴⁵ Roe on the other hand acknowledged the just cause of Christian IV but conceded that the king had made serious mistakes in his dispute with Hamburg.¹⁴⁶ One of these consisted in his misjudgement of being able to control the Elbe from Glückstadt. Roe pointed out that the Imperial forces

¹³⁸ KCFB, II, 252, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, Glückstadt, 19 March 1630; TNA, SP75/10 fol. 58–59, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 21 April 1630; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 39–41.

¹³⁹ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 43.

¹⁴⁰ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 70–71, Anstruther to ?, without place, 30 April 1630.

¹⁴¹ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 78–79, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 1 May 1630; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 42–43.

¹⁴² TNA, SP 75/11 fol. 95–96, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 8/18 May 1630; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 43.

¹⁴³ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 44–50.

¹⁴⁴ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 127–128, (Thomas) Roe to Anstruther, Hamburg, 31 May 1630; SP75/11 fol. 132–133, Anstruther to (Roe), Glückstadt, 28 May 1630; SP75/11 fol. 134–135, Anstruther to (Roe), without place, 31 May 1630; SP75/11 fol. 162–163, Anstruther to (Roe), Hamburg, 6 June 1630; SP75/11 fol. 166–167, Roe to Anstruther, on board the Samuel, 9 June 1630; SP75/11 fol. 168–169, Anstruther to (Dorchester), Hamburg, 9/19 June 1630.

¹⁴⁵ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 179–180, Anstruther to (Roe), Hamburg, 19 June 1630.

¹⁴⁶ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 183–186, Thomas Roe, Narrative of Differences between the King of Denmark and Hamburg, without place (mid-1630).

held two places on the other side of the waterway which—if fortified—would allow them to close the river and prohibit all trade or force it to Stade to the disadvantage of the English cloth trade.¹⁴⁷

In September 1630 Danish men-of-war broke the Hamburg blockade of Glückstadt and the conflict over the control of the river continued on a more diplomatic level.¹⁴⁸ However, the number of Hamburg ships which were made Danish prizes due to their alleged trade with Spain increased during the 1630s in reprisal to the Elbe dispute.¹⁴⁹ In 1633 the Emperor formally confirmed the legality of the toll for the following four years.¹⁵⁰ This turn in the Imperial policy was linked to the successes of the Swedish crown in Northwest Germany, which had entered the Thirty Years' War three years previously. In 1631 Gustav II Adolf had closed a treaty with Johan Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp in his capacity of administrator which aimed at the disposal of the Imperial occupation of Bremen *Stift*.¹⁵¹ In return for military aid Johan Frederick promised the Swedish troops use of and command over all fortified places within the territory. In January 1632 a multinational Swedish army under General Åke Tott marched into Bremen and occupied Buxtehude (April 1632) and Stade (May 1632).¹⁵² Due to his weakened situation at the Elbe and efforts of the Swedish chancellor Axel Oxenstierna to create a Protestant anti-Imperialist union, the Emperor decided to make concessions to the Danish monarch in order to prevent him from re-entering the conflict.¹⁵³

In 1634 Christian IV's influence in Northwest Germany strengthened further with the death of Johan Frederick which allowed the Danish monarch's son, Frederick, to become archbishop of Bremen.¹⁵⁴ His election was eased by the fact that it coincided with a phase of relative military weakness of the Swedish army after the death of Gustav II Adolf at Lützen (1632) and the defeat at Nördlingen (1634). In December 1634 Frederick and his retinue crossed the Elbe into Bremen. Before his journey, the prince had sent letters to the Scottish commandant of the Swedish troops,

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ TNA, SP75/11, fol. 246, Thomas Conway to Viscount Conway, without place, 21 September 1630; Bellamy, *Christian IV and his Navy*, 35; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 43–57.

¹⁴⁹ Bellamy, *Christian IV and his Navy*, 125.

¹⁵⁰ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 68.

¹⁵¹ Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 176.

¹⁵² Ibid., 176–177. Scottish troops in Swedish service were instrumental in the siege of Buxtehude. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 93.

¹⁵³ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 68.

¹⁵⁴ Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 177.

Major General Alexander Leslie, informing him of his approach and his plans to meet the commandant in person at Stade.¹⁵⁵ Interestingly, he drew on the relationship between Leslie's sovereign, the Stuart monarch, and Christian IV expressing that he was convinced that Leslie—as a Scot—would provide the entertainment and respect due to him.¹⁵⁶ As Leslie was at Vechta at the time, a meeting between the two men did not take place. However, Leslie apparently stated that he would receive Frederick in any place he commanded as son of the King of Denmark, but not as archbishop. He further made it clear that he was wary of Christian IV and the Bremen estates acting together against his troops, demonstrating the uneasiness of the Danish-Swedish relationship.¹⁵⁷ Leslie's worries proved to be unnecessary. When Frederick began his official government of Bremen *Stift* the local estates remained allies of the Swedish crown allowing the recruitment and mustering of Swedish troops.¹⁵⁸ The following year Sweden closed a new agreement with Bremen and Verden which officially neutralised both German territories and prohibited the quartering of soldiers. Swedish troops were to leave Bremen and Verden against the payment of a sum of 22,000 and 6,000 Imperial dollars respectively. Furthermore, Frederick was given official control of Verden.¹⁵⁹

In addition to these successes, Christian IV sought further to consolidate his power north of the Elbe. In April 1636 he lodged 250 men in the castle of Pinneberg, which belonged to the count of Schauenburg.¹⁶⁰ The count was then paying contribution to the Swedish crown and had given over Pinneberg for the use of Alexander Leslie (now a field marshal of the Swedish army) in exchange for help he had received in previous months. These contributions were now endangered by Christian IV's move.¹⁶¹ The use of the county of Pinneberg by Sweden also became less secure as the example of two Scottish companies under the command of Colonel Francis Ruthven demonstrates. These troops arrived on the Elbe from Scotland in December 1636 as levies for the Swedish crown.¹⁶² The count of Schauenburg granted Ruthven and his troops permission to camp beside

¹⁵⁵ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 235–236, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 31 December 1634.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Fiedler, 'Bremen and Verden', 177.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 178.

¹⁶⁰ TNA, SP75/13, fol. 309, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 1/11 April 1636.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E703, Francis Ruthven to Axel Oxenstierna, Hamburg, 9 December 1636.

the Elbe within his territory. However, some inhabitants—who may or may not have been incited by the Danish monarch to do so—marched the soldiers further inland to a village where local peasants refused them access forcing them to camp in the fields. This march and the behaviour of the locals caused several troops to die of the cold.¹⁶³ The neutralisation of Bremen and Verden had also serious implications for these troops as they were denied a muster point at Buxtehude. This forced Ruthven to march them from village to village waiting for new orders, causing the death of further soldiers.¹⁶⁴ Additional troops which had arrived on the Weser under Ruthven's command were likewise affected by the hostility of the local population. They were initially stationed in small villages along the banks of the river. However, while Ruthven went to the archbishop of Bremen and to Hamburg to negotiate their quartering and to collect his orders, the city of Bremen forced his troops back onto their ship causing the death of several soldiers from exposure.¹⁶⁵

The following year the Danish king tightened his control of the Elbe by positioning further ships between Glückstadt and Hamburg.¹⁶⁶ At the same time he prohibited Swedish levies to land on the banks of either the Elbe or the Weser or to transit through his territories. He justified his action by pointing towards threats which the Emperor had made against him should he support enemies in his neutral territories.¹⁶⁷ The ban on Swedish troops was even applied to the Swedish resident at Hamburg, Adler Salvius, who was denied a meeting with the Danish archbishop at Stade—causing humiliation to the representative whose coach was turned around before it could cross the river.¹⁶⁸ English and Scottish troops who arrived on the Elbe in June 1637 were likewise prohibited from entering Holstein or Bremen *Stift* and thus sent further upstream to Lauenburg, to disembark in a territory outside of Danish control.¹⁶⁹ This may have

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ TNA, SP75/14 fol. 135–136, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 26 May/5 June 1637; SP 75/14 fol. 143–144, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 2/12 June 1637.

¹⁶⁷ TNA, SP 75/14 fol. 143–144, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 2/12 June 1637; SP75/14 fol. 153–154, De Vic to Secretary of State, Hamburg, 14 June 1637.

¹⁶⁸ TNA, SP75/14 fol. 149–150, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 9/19 June 1637.

¹⁶⁹ TNA, SP75/14 fol. 157–158, De Vic to Secretary of State, Hamburg, 15 June 1637; SP75/14 fol. 172–173, De Vic to (Coke), Hamburg, 20 June 1637. This affected troops under Lieutenant-Colonels John Chamberlain and Thomas Appleyard, who were part of George Fleetwood's regiment, levied in England. After their disembarkation at Lauenburg they were to march through the land of Mecklenburg to join with Field Marshal Hermann

been the reason why Christian IV's son, Christian Ulrich, enquired about the depth of the Elbe at Winsen (*Bremen Stift*), where he intended to position a men-of-war to hinder all traffic from moving further upstream.¹⁷⁰ However, this plan came to nothing.

Despite his efforts, Christian IV was not entirely successful in maintaining the neutrality of his territories. In 1638 Imperial regiments, belonging to Matthias Gallas, sojourned in Bremen, temporarily occupying the territory.¹⁷¹ In the meantime, Christian continued to collect duties on the river Elbe even after the temporary Imperial grant of the toll expired in July 1637. The Merchant Adventurers were amongst those who used this date as an opportunity to renew negotiations for an exemption from or a reduction of the toll.¹⁷² Their endeavours proved difficult as the Danish monarch sought to draw the company to Glückstadt, Krempe or Stade, promising a toll exemption and other privileges in return.¹⁷³ The company members refused this offer as they apparently felt safer at Hamburg. Accordingly, they only managed to elicit a toll discount for some of their ships and the promise that vessels arriving from either Hull or London were not to be stayed and searched on their way to Hamburg.¹⁷⁴ The Hamburgers likewise resumed their talks with Christian IV through the mediation of the Danish crown-prince (Christian).¹⁷⁵ These negotiations proved inconclusive as the Danish monarch rejected a compromise settlement which had been struck between the city and the crown-prince.¹⁷⁶ The negotiations had been anxiously watched by the Emperor and his representatives who wanted to avoid a rapprochement between Hamburg

Wrangel. The regiments of Colonels Stewart and Cuningham who had also been levied in the British Isles were to take a similar route via Lauenburg to reinforce Field Marshal Johan Baner's troops.

¹⁷⁰ TNA, SP75/14 fol. 504–505, De Vic to Coke, Hamburg, 23 June 1637.

¹⁷¹ TNA, SP75/15 fol. 155–156, De Vic and Averie to Secretary of State, 20/30 April 1638; Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 178.

¹⁷² TNA, SP75/14 fol. 316, Christian IV, Resolution given to the Merchant Adventurers, without place, 11 September 1637; SP75/14 fol. 317, Merchant Adventurers to Christian IV, Hamburg, 11 September 1637; TNA, SP75/14 fol. 325–327, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 16/26 September 1637.

¹⁷³ TNA, SP75/14 fol. 325–327, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 16/26 September 1637.

¹⁷⁴ TNA, SP75/14 fol. 316, Christian IV, Resolution given to the Merchant Adventurers, without place, 11 September 1637; SP75/14 fol. 317, Merchant Adventurers to Christian IV, Hamburg, 11 September 1637; TNA, SP75/14 fol. 325–327, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 16/26 September 1637.

¹⁷⁵ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 79–85.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

and Denmark-Norway.¹⁷⁷ At the Diet of Ratisbon, the Emperor ordered Christian IV to abolish the toll and other duties claimed on the Elbe (21/31 December 1640), but this Imperial prompt did not have the desired effect as Christian IV continued to enforce them.¹⁷⁸

In 1640 the relationship between Hamburg and Denmark worsened because Christian IV managed to secure two thirds of the territory of Holstein-Pinneberg including the towns and villages of Altona, Ottensen, Wedel, Lokstedt, Niendorf, Schnelsen and Hummelsbüttel, due to the extinction of the Dukes of Schauenburg.¹⁷⁹ Altona, situated just a few miles west of Hamburg on the Elbe, had developed into an economic rival to Hamburg from the beginning of the seventeenth century when Duke Ernst of Schauenburg bestowed newly arrived exiles from the Southern Netherlands with economic and religious privileges.¹⁸⁰ The reformed church community in Altona affiliated itself to the Synod of Holland and enticed inhabitants of Hamburg of the same faith to commute and worship in the town—an invitation which was especially attractive to some, as the reformed church in Stade had been abolished in 1619.¹⁸¹ This church was where both the reformed Hamburgers and inhabitants of Altona had previously attended services.¹⁸² However, Mennonites, Catholics and Portuguese Jews also benefited from religious toleration and Altona's population increased to around 1,500 inhabitants by 1620. Christian IV confirmed the religious and economic privileges when he took control over the town and sought to enforce Altona's rival position to Hamburg by developing its harbour.¹⁸³ However, it was not only the territory of Holstein-Pinneberg but also Schauenburg possessions within the city walls of Hamburg, including the Schauenburg court in the church district of St Jacobi, which were now under Christian IV's control.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, the king set up a Danish military camp at Fuhlsbüttel at a crossing over the river Alster in 1641 and 1642, threatening Hamburg's trade route

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 79–85.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 87–90.

¹⁷⁹ Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren', 149. The remaining third of the territory was given to Duke Frederick III of Holstein-Gottorp.

¹⁸⁰ Ramm, 'Altona', 282–283.

¹⁸¹ Ibid. The reformed Church in Stade belonged to a small community of Vallons whose members moved to the more secure cities of Altona and Hamburg in 1619 due to the growing tensions with Denmark-Norway and the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. Jobelmann and Wittpenning, *Stade*, 14.

¹⁸² Ramm, 'Altona', 282–283.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 291.

¹⁸⁴ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 92.

to Segeberg. This assembly of troops was meant to counteract the military threat from Imperialist troops in Northwest Germany and to enforce his control of Pinneberg and the Elbtoll.¹⁸⁵ In addition, Christian IV repeatedly declared that the Hamburgers were 'rebels' acting against him and his officials in order to gather support from various rulers, whilst continuously describing Hamburg as 'his' city.¹⁸⁶ This was followed by a blockade of Hamburg on the Elbe in 1643 which, together with Christian's other acquisitions, effectively encircled the city with Danish forces.¹⁸⁷ Hamburg's senate eventually succumbed to the pressure and reconfirmed Danish over-lordship over their city until a decision in the Danish appeal against the Imperial court verdict of 1618 had been reached. In addition the Hamburgers were forced to pay a sum of 280,000 Imperial dollars to Christian IV and to accept the toll on the Elbe.¹⁸⁸ Two years later the situation changed to Hamburg's benefit. In 1645 Christian IV lost the Swedish-Danish war (1643–1645) which had broken out due to the rivalry of the Scandinavian powers in the North Sea and Baltic sphere, including the wider Elbe-Weser region. In the ensuing peace negotiations the Danish king was forced to make extensive concessions to Hamburg (*Resolution of Hadersleben*).¹⁸⁹ These included the abolition of the toll and other duties in the Elbe as well as privileges for Hamburg ships in the Sound.¹⁹⁰ In return the city promised to accept the Treaty of Steinburg and to pay a sum of 120,000 Imperial dollars. It was also agreed that the Imperial privilege of 1628 was not to be used against the Houses of Holstein and that a court was to decide over the legality of its terms.¹⁹¹

During the conflict Swedish troops under Christopher von Königsmarck had won military control over Bremen and Verden. In the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) both territories were secularised and given to the Swedish crown.¹⁹² The Swedish monarchs were integrated into the Holy Roman Empire as German dukes and received a seat at the Imperial

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 93; Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren', 170–173.

¹⁸⁶ *KCFB*, IV, 304–305, Christian IV to the Rigsråd, Copenhagen, 22 February 1643; *KCFB*, IV, 315–316, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, without place, 9 March 1643; *KCFB*, IV, 316–317, Christian IV to Frederik Günther, without place, 12 March 1643; *KCFB*, IV, 317–318, Christian IV to Fredrik Günther, without place, 22 March 1643.

¹⁸⁷ Bellamy, *Christian IV and His Navy*, 36; Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 96–102; Tode, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren', 172–173.

¹⁸⁸ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 104–105; Lockhart, *Denmark*, 205–208.

¹⁸⁹ Loose, *Hamburg und Christian IV.*, 110–120.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 118–119.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 177–178; 183–184.

diets as well as at the Lower Saxon (Bremen) and Westphalian (Verden) assemblies. The duchies thus did not become parts of Sweden but gained a status as Swedish provinces. Sweden furthermore acquired territories in Hither Pomerania, the Baltic islands of Rügen, Usedom and Wollin as well as the district around the city of Wismar. In addition, the Emperor granted the highest judicial powers in these territories to the Swedish crown (*Privilegium De Non Appellando*) which were executed at the Swedish high court at Wismar (*Oberappellationsgericht*).¹⁹³ This outcome of the Swedish-Danish conflict effectively curbed Danish influence in the Baltic and North Sea. However, the Second Northern War (1655–1660) offered Christian IV's successor Frederick III (1648–1670; the former archbishop of Bremen) a new chance to continue his father's policies in the wider Elbe-Weser region. When Sweden suffered a military defeat against Poland in 1657, Danish troops entered the conflict and marched into the duchy of Bremen.¹⁹⁴ Their success was not to last long: Field Marshal Carl Gustav Wrangel drove out the Danish forces only two months after they had moved into the territory. Shortly thereafter, Swedish troops occupied Danish territories (Jutland, Zealand) and Denmark-Norway was eventually forced to cede the territories of Scania, Blekinge, Halland and Bohuslän to Sweden at the Peace of Roskilde in 1658.¹⁹⁵

In contrast to his ambitions with regard to Sweden, Frederick III was reluctant to display an overly aggressive behaviour in his relationship with the city of Hamburg and in the question of suzerainty on the Elbe. He even offered to sell Altona together with Ottensen and the small islands in the Elbe to Hamburg's senate.¹⁹⁶ Surprisingly, the citizens of Hamburg declined his offer, perhaps as they did not expect any further conflict with the Danish monarch. Frederick III officially granted Altona city status in 1664, releasing it from the control of the county of Pinneberg.¹⁹⁷ The city's privileges included not only a confirmation of religious and trade rights but also saw the abolition of tolls on goods being shipped down the river as well as on all goods brought to Altona by Danish-Norwegian or Holstein merchants. The economic success of these measures was reflected in a population increase from approximately 3,000 inhabitants in 1664 to

¹⁹³ Ibid., 186–187.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 192; For an account of this conflict see Lockhart, *Denmark*, 233–247.

¹⁹⁵ Fiedler, 'Bremen and Verden', 193–194.

¹⁹⁶ Ramm, 'Altona', 291.

¹⁹⁷ Rathjen, 'Die geteilte Einheit—Schleswig-Holstein zwischen König und Herzog 1490–1721', Witt and Vorgerau (eds.), *Schleswig-Holstein*, 191.

about 12,000 inhabitants in 1710—making Altona the second largest city within the Danish-Norwegian empire and increasing its competition with Hamburg.¹⁹⁸ Apart from this development, Hamburg's relationship with Frederick III remained relatively peaceful. Instead, the English Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660 (which stipulated that English commodities could only be imported by English ships) and the first and second Anglo-Dutch Wars (1652–1654; 1665–1667) began to pose a threat to the city's trade and traffic on the Elbe.

During the first of the Anglo-Dutch conflicts both English and Dutch traders continued their trade with Hamburg and purchased essential war supplies in the city.¹⁹⁹ The English trade on the Elbe was even extended as Frederick III had closed off the Sound for the English merchants, forcing them to send commodities intended for the Baltic through Hamburg.²⁰⁰ In order to pass the Elbe safely, the Dutch and English merchant fleets required convoys to protect themselves from each other on the narrow waterway.²⁰¹ Despite these safety measures some English ships were taken during the summer of 1653. From September the same year three Dutch capers guarded the river at Glückstadt, causing further problems for the English maritime traffic.²⁰² This prompted the Merchant Adventurers to enquire about the legal status of the Elbe arguing that if Hamburg claimed ownership over the river, the city would have to compensate for any losses occurring.²⁰³ The Adventurers were even more so inclined to gain reparations as they felt obliged to assist groups of English seamen who sought refuge in Hamburg after having become shipwrecked or otherwise distressed as a result of the maritime conflict.²⁰⁴ Although the claims for compensation were dropped, Hamburg's trade suffered considerably

¹⁹⁸ Ramm, 'Altona', 292–295.

¹⁹⁹ TNA, SP18/38 fol. 82, Captain John Wetwang to Council of State, without place, 12 July 1653.

²⁰⁰ TNA, SP18/38 fol. 123, Petition, Assistants of the Merchant Adventurers to Council of State on behalf of themselves and other Eastland merchants, Hamburg, (16 July) 1653.

²⁰¹ TNA, SP18/40 fol. 40, (David) Heckstetter to Rear-Admiral John Lawson, Hamburg, 20 September 1653; TNA, SP18/41 fol. 1a, Captain John Hayward to Council of State, without place, 1 October 1653; SP18/61 fol. 1, Day's Proceedings, Council of State, without date (1653).

²⁰² TNA, SP18/40 fol. 40, Heckstetter to Rear-Admiral John Lawson, Hamburg, 20 September 1653.

²⁰³ TNA, SP25/41 fol. 66, Day's Proceedings, Council of State, 8 April 1653; SP 25/69 fol. 25; Day's Proceedings, 6 May 1653; TNA, SP18/40 fol. 40, Heckstetter to Rear-Admiral John Lawson, Hamburg, 20 September 1653.

²⁰⁴ TNA, SP18/41 fol. 294, Richard Bradshaw to Council of State, Hamburg, 15 November 1653.

as a great number of Hamburg ships became arrested and detained by the English Parliamentary Navy under the suspicion of being Dutch.²⁰⁵ This suspicion derived from the fact that several Dutch skippers had become Hamburg citizens at the beginning of the conflict entitling them to acquire neutral sea passes.²⁰⁶ For example, in November 1653 no less than 16 Hamburg ships were detained as they had sailed by two Dutch men-of-war without showing their own, neutral colours.²⁰⁷ The following month twelve of these ships were released whereas the remaining four were detained further as they were believed to be Dutch.²⁰⁸

The second Anglo-Dutch war brought along the same problems as the first. By the outbreak of the conflict the situation of Hamburg merchants trading with England had improved as Charles II had exempted them from the Navigation Acts in 1663.²⁰⁹ However, the Anglo-Dutch dispute again hindered trade on the river Elbe and disrupted the city's commerce.²¹⁰ This was even more so as the Danish monarch Frederick III entered the conflict in 1666, closing the Sound to English ships and ordering Danish men-of-war to patrol the Elbe.²¹¹ Due to Hamburg's close relations with the Dutch Republic the senate's neutrality was once again under suspicion in England. This prompted the arrest of several Hamburg ships whose true origin was carefully checked.²¹² The Stuart resident in Hamburg, the Englishman William Swann, not only warned that large quantities of Dutch commodities were transported in Hamburg ships. He further complained that the Elbe had become 'a nest of Holland's capers' to the disadvantage of the Merchant Adventurers and that Hamburg merchants

²⁰⁵ TNA, SP82/9 fol. 169–170, Richard Bradshaw to Council of State, Hamburg, without date; SP82/8 fol. 175–180, Hamburg Senate to Council of State, 20/30 November 1652; SP82/8 fol. 205, Mr Skinner on Proposals of Hamburg Agent, without place and date (1652); SP82/9 fol. 128, Richard Bradshaw to President and Council of State, Hamburg, 18 October 1653.

²⁰⁶ TNA, SP25/39 fol. 49, Day's Proceedings, Council of State, 14 February 1653; SP25/40 fol. 18, Day's Proceedings, Council of State, 25 February 1653; SP82/9 fol. 128, Richard Bradshaw to President and Council of State, Hamburg, 18 October 1653; Hitzgrath, *Die politischen Beziehungen*, 30–34.

²⁰⁷ TNA, SP18/41 fol. 355, Report of Admiralty Judges, 26 November 1653.

²⁰⁸ TNA, SP82/42 fol. 63, Day's Proceedings, Council of State, 8 December 1653.

²⁰⁹ Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse', 689–691.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 697.

²¹¹ TNA, SP29/167 fol. 41, Luke Whittington to Williamson, without place, 10 August 1666; SP29/176 fol. 61, Silas Taylor to Williamson, without place, 27 October 1666; Gijs Rommelse, *The Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667): Raison d'État, Mercantilism and Maritime Strife* (Hilversum, 2006), 152.

²¹² TNA, SP29/126, Warrant for Discharge (Abraham's Offering), without place, 26 July 1665.

continually perpetrated violations of their neutrality.²¹³ In order to distinguish between the genuine Hamburgers and Dutch vessels sailing under a flag of convenience, Swann persuaded the senate to furnish the Stuart monarch with a list of Hamburg merchants and their vessels, which was delivered in March 1665. In addition, Swann provided a private list of Hamburg merchants who were known to conduct business in partnership with the Dutch.²¹⁴ The accusations against the city continued when two Dutch men-of-war and two smaller escorts en route from Glückstadt captured seven ships at Neumühlen on 24 August/ 3 September 1666. Four of these belonged to English merchants, of which they burned three and kept the fourth as prize.²¹⁵ This incident provoked further suspicion in Britain about the neutrality of the city. The Hamburg envoys, Daniel von Campe and Johann Eckhoff, brought assurances from the senate that they had protected eleven other vessels caught in the attack (which had retreated under their cannon shot). They also argued that it would have been impossible to assist the exposed English vessels militarily without breaching the city's neutrality (as the attack had taken place in Danish waters). Furthermore, warnings had been given about the Dutch men-of-war at Glückstadt several weeks in advance, but the English remained distrustful.²¹⁶ The dispute about the English ships and the responsibility of the city of Hamburg on the Elbe strained the relationship between powers and led to threats by the Hamburgers against the Merchant Adventurers.²¹⁷ However, in the mid-1670s Hamburg condescended to the English claims and paid a reparation sum of £35,000.²¹⁸ The city of Hamburg was not the only power suspected of assisting the United Provinces during the conflict. William Swann also warned Duke Christian-Albrecht of Holstein-Gottorp that the inhabitants of the island of Helgoland (which belonged to the

²¹³ TNA, SP82/10 fol. 210–211, (William) Swann to (Joseph) Williamson, Hamburg, 28 January 1665; SP82/10 fol. 247, Swann to Williamson, Hamburg, 8/18 July 1665; SP82/10, fol. 270, Swann to (Williamson), Hamburg, 18/28 November 1665.

²¹⁴ Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse', 696.

²¹⁵ TNA, SP82/10 fol. 35, Daniel von Campe and Johann Eckhoff to Charles II, Hamburg, 27 September/7 October 1666. According to Brinkmann, six ships were caught and burned. Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse', 698.

²¹⁶ TNA, SP82/10, fol. 35, Daniel von Campe and Johann Eckhoff to Charles II, Hamburg, 27 September/7 October 1666; TNA, SP82/11 fol. 40, Hamburg Senate to Charles II, Hamburg, 9 October 1666. For more information on this issue see Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse', 697–703.

²¹⁷ TNA, SP29/273 fol. 25, Silas Taylor to Perrott, without place, 10 February 1670.

²¹⁸ TNA, SP29/370 fol. 340, Sir Thomas Player to Williamson, without place, 27 May 1675; SP29/314 fol. 115, Vincent Garmers and Franz Mattfeldt to the Earl of Arlington, London, 22 August 1672; Brinkmann, 'England and the Hanse', 698–703.

duke) were helping Dutch capers in the estuary of the Elbe, breaching his neutrality.²¹⁹ During the third Anglo-Dutch conflict (1672–1674), hostilities once again resumed in the North Sea, the Baltic and in the Elbe.²²⁰ Like his predecessor Frederick III, Christian V (1670–1699) supported the Dutch side during the conflict.

In 1675 the Danish monarch joined the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Münster and Brandenburg in the Imperial war (*Reichskrieg*) against Sweden, then an ally of Louis XIV.²²¹ After the defeat of Sweden in the battle of Fehrbellin (28 June 1675) against Brandenburg, the allied forces occupied the duchies of Bremen and Verden. Thereafter the Danish crown vied with the house of Brunswick-Lüneburg for control of the newly acquired territories.²²² Duke Georg Wilhelm was keen to prevent Christian V from gaining influence on the southern banks of the river Elbe and on the northern banks of the river Weser, on which the city of Lüneburg's trade depended.²²³ After some negotiations he was able to assert his position and to win control over Bremen and Verden.²²⁴ However, due to the pressure of France, the duchies were again in Swedish possession after the peace of Nijmegen (1679).²²⁵

During the 1670s Christian V also resumed open hostilities between his territories and Hamburg. In 1672 the city's inhabitants had feared that Danish ships would block off their trade in the Elbe and that the Danish monarch would seek to occupy their city with a large army by land.²²⁶ Furthermore, Christian V sought to obtain a new Imperial privilege which would allow him to raise a toll at Glückstadt.²²⁷ His endeavours were closely watched by the Merchant Adventurers and the Hamburg senate

²¹⁹ LAS, Abteilung 7, No. 1434, Swann to Christian Albrecht of Holstein-Gottorp, Hamburg, 29 September 1665. Swann also suggested to the duke to send him a list of Holstein-Gottorp's traders (similar to the one of Hamburg merchants) to prove their identity and to protect them from unnecessary arrests at sea. LAS, Abteilung 7, No. 1434, Swann to Christian Albrecht, Hamburg, 7 February 1665.

²²⁰ TNA, SP29/304 fol. 122, Captain Thomas Langley to Williamson, without place, 25 March 1672.

²²¹ Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 194–196; Matthias Nistahl, 'Die Reichsexekution gegen Schweden in Bremen-Verden', in Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität*, 97–123. For a broader account of the war see Robert I. Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721* (Harlow, 2000), 208–223.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ TNA, SP82/14 fol. 54–55, Swann to Williamson, Celle, 9 February 1676.

²²⁴ Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 194–196.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ TNA, SP29/312 fol. 32, Anthony Gylby to Williamson, without place, 26 June 1672.

²²⁷ TNA, SP82/15, fol. 142–43, Hamburg Senate to ?, Hamburg, 30 March 1677.

who approached Charles II for help.²²⁸ In particular, the senators asked the Stuart monarch to request his diplomats within the Holy Roman Empire to influence the Emperor and Electors against the Danish toll.²²⁹ Christian V did indeed not receive an Imperial privilege. Instead he launched an open attack on Hamburg in 1679, but was prevented from occupying the city by the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg who supported the Hamburgers. The conflict ended with the Treaty of Pinneberg (*Pinneberger Rezess*, 1 November 1679) which determined that Hamburg's status was not to be changed until a judicial verdict or an amicable agreement had been reached. After another hostile phase between Christian V and Hamburg this compact was confirmed by the Treaty of Copenhagen (*Kopenhagener Rezess*, 16 August 1692) which finally relaxed the relationship between the city and its northern neighbour. However, it was not until 1768 that the Danish monarch recognised Hamburg's status as a free city in the Treaty of Gottorp (*Gottorper Vergleich*).²³⁰

In addition to the dispute with Christian V, Hamburg's trade became threatened by the occurrences of the Nine Years' War (1688–1697), fought by an alliance of European powers (including the Emperor) against France. In order to avoid French privateers, Hamburg ships on their way to and from the Iberian peninsula increasingly made use of the route around Scotland, rather than through the English channel.²³¹ Some of them sailed under neutral Danish flags to avoid capture.²³² The Williamite resident at Hamburg, Paul Rycaut, reported that on one day alone no less than 32 Hamburg merchants acquired citizen rights at Altona and Glückstadt in order to be furnished with Danish passes by the local governors.²³³ However, this arrangement did not last long as Christian V attempted to force the Hamburgers to become citizens for ten years and to unload their imports on Danish territory once they had acquired Danish protection. Hamburg's senate had to free their citizens from this requirement by paying a heavy ransom.²³⁴ Thereafter, Hamburg merchants turned to the ports of Swedish Bremen for flags of convenience. Whilst most citizens

²²⁸ TNA, SP82/15, fol. 161–163, Hamburg Senate to Charles II, Hamburg, 3 August 1677.

²²⁹ Ibid.; SP82/15, fol. 220–221, ? to ?, Hamburg, 19 December 1677.

²³⁰ Loose, 'Das Zeitalter', 301–303.

²³¹ TNA, SP8/7, unfoliated letter, The Earl of Nottingham to the Earl of Pembroke, without place, 24 March 1690.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ TNA, SP82/17 fol. 194, (Paul) Rycaut to Nottingham, Hamburg 10 June 1690.

²³⁴ Claus Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt des Herzogtums Bremen zur Schwedenzeit (1645–1712)* (Stade, 1970), 36, 160.

continued their commercial exchanges with the Iberian Peninsula and the British Isles, some Hamburg and Danish traders also imported and exported commodities from and to France. In July 1692 Rycaut observed that several ships were lying at Altona and other places along the Elbe, destined to carry contraband to French ports.²³⁵ Their departure was only hindered by an English man-of-war guarding the river, a situation which prompted Rycaut to request the deployment of further Dutch and English vessels.²³⁶ Unfortunately we do not know if and when these ships arrived and how successful they were in stopping French commodities reaching Hamburg during this period. However, the example of the English man-of-war hindering the Danish and Hamburg merchant ships exiting the river once again shows the vulnerability of those ports and territories relying on access to this waterway.

As a detailed study of the impact of the Nine Years' War and the subsequent War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) on the Northwest German territories is so far missing it is impossible to come to a conclusion at this stage if these conflicts hindered or helped the region's trade. The same is true for the Great Northern War (1700–1721) which was partially fought within the region itself.²³⁷ This war was not only of political consequence for the region as it ended Swedish rule in Northwest Germany. In 1712 the Hanoverian Elector George Louis occupied the duchy of Verden and part of the duchy of Bremen. The rest of the territory was gained by Danish troops during the summer of the same year.²³⁸ Both territories were eventually given to Hanover in the peace of Stockholm on 20 November 1719, stifling Swedish ambitions to control Elbe and Weser.

The Lower Weser Region

As the Lower Elbe, the Lower Weser constituted a waterway of commercial and strategic importance where the interests of foreign and local powers met. The latter included the city of Bremen which formed a second urban centre within the wider Elbe-Weser region. The city developed into an economic hub, initially under the formal overlordship of the archbishop

²³⁵ TNA, SP82/18 fol. 46–47, Rycaut to ?, Hamburg, 29 July 1629.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ For details of this conflict see Frost, *The Northern Wars*, 226–300.

²³⁸ Jan Lokers et al., 'Das Elbe-Weser Dreieck im 18. Jahrhundert (1712/15–1803)', in Dannenberg and Schulze (eds.), *Geschichte des Landes*, 293.

of Bremen.²³⁹ However, from the fourteenth century Bremen's authorities pursued a more independent policy and acquired rural territories in order to secure the Lower Weser and its smaller tributaries Lesum and Hunte.²⁴⁰ These included the district and castle of Bederska (including Hadeln) and the church district (*Kirchspiel*) of Lehe at the northern bank of the river.²⁴¹ Furthermore, the senate gained the districts of Stadland and Butjadingen, situated at the left banks of the Weser's estuary.²⁴² However, control over these territories was only short-lived as the city could not break the influence of the East Frisian chiefs who had previously ruled in this area.²⁴³ In addition, the senate gradually won control over the districts Werderland, Blockland, Hollerland, Nieder- and Obervieland (situated along both sides of the Weser within the immediate vicinity of the inner city territory) and secured Neuenkirchen and Blumenthal (district and castle) situated further north of the city on the northern bank of the river.²⁴⁴

During the Reformation, Bremen's authorities had first turned to the Lutheran (c.1534) and then to the Calvinist confession (c.1577), distancing themselves from the now Lutheran archbishop of Bremen.²⁴⁵ From then onwards the city started to act effectively as an independent city within the Holy Roman Empire (*Freie Reichsstadt*). This status was consolidated when the city received an Imperial privilege in 1541 which granted suzerainty on the Lower Weser and a staple of wine, beer and corn.²⁴⁶

After the mid-1560s Bremen received a large influx of Dutch migrants who arrived in several waves during the Spanish-Dutch war and who boosted the population to around 20,000 inhabitants by 1600.²⁴⁷ In contrast to Hamburg's policy, the Dutch incomers did not receive special group privileges but were admitted individually in order to facilitate their integration.²⁴⁸ This was also eased by the fact that the majority of the

²³⁹ Hill, *Die Stadt und ihr Markt*, 279.

²⁴⁰ Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 37; Hill, *Die Stadt und ihr Markt*, 277–313.

²⁴¹ Hill, *Die Stadt und ihr Markt*, 306; Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 87–88.

²⁴² Hill, *Die Stadt und ihr Markt*, 319; Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 279–281.

²⁴³ Hill, *Die Stadt und ihr Markt*, 328.

²⁴⁴ Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 87–88, 277–282.

²⁴⁵ Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 43–50; Otto Veeck, *Geschichte der Reformierten Kirche Bremens* (Bremen, 1909), 1–41.

²⁴⁶ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 133.

²⁴⁷ Herbert Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert: Glanz und Elend einer alten Hansestadt* (Bremen, 1996), 11.

²⁴⁸ Anne E., Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste, den Joden und den Fremden: Zur Ethnographie von Immigration, Rezeption und Exkludierung Fremder am Beispiel der Stadt Bremen vom Mittelalter bis 1848* (Berlin/Hamburg/Münster, 2001), 88.

Dutch migrants were Calvinist and thus conformed to Bremen's official confession.²⁴⁹ They clearly influenced the city's cultural development as the city's clerics affiliated themselves with the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619.²⁵⁰ However, formal admission to the city was open to all foreigners in principle, including non-Calvinists.²⁵¹ The acquisition of citizen rights allowed for membership of Bremen's mercantile and political institutions, including the senate and the *Collegium Seniorum*, an institution which represented the combined interests of all merchants in public and against the senate. However, Lutherans were effectively excluded from membership in the senate from the second half of the seventeenth century.²⁵² In addition to the Dutch exiles Bremen attracted further migrants who mainly originated from places within the Holy Roman Empire.²⁵³

During the 1610s and 1620s the city authorities tried to recruit new, profitable citizens to populate the newly fortified New Town on the southern bank of the river. Their efforts included an unsuccessful attempt to draw the Merchant Adventurers from Hamburg to Bremen.²⁵⁴ The senate also seriously considered an application by a group of English Puritans who were willing to migrate to the city in 1635 as the senate came to the conclusion that their religion conformed to that of their own citizens.²⁵⁵ These negotiations failed and a map dating from c. 1640 demonstrates that the New Town remained sparsely populated.²⁵⁶ Four years later, the senate issued further privileges for new citizens, including free citizen rights, religious toleration and cheap building materials. These attracted a number of migrants who settled in the New Town and in the city's older districts.²⁵⁷ Amongst the incomers were individual Scottish and English merchants and their presence will be further analysed in the following chapters.

The migrants contributed to Bremen's trade. The city maintained close commercial links with its closest neighbours along the Lower and Upper

²⁴⁹ Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 47–48. Bremen had become Calvinist by 1577 under the leadership of its provost Daniel v. Büren.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Catholics could purchase citizen rights until 1677. Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste*, 125.

²⁵² Ruth Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Bremen, 1963), 79.

²⁵³ Ibid., 184–233.

²⁵⁴ Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste*, 132–133.

²⁵⁵ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1635–1640, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.5, 9, 11 September 1635; Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste*, 134–135.

²⁵⁶ Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 55; Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 62–63. See map on pages 66–67.

²⁵⁷ Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 340. The population of the new town has been estimated at 3,000 in 1650.

Weser and the river Aller as well as trade partners across the North Sea and in the Baltic.²⁵⁸ The city's most important markets consisted of the urban centres of the United Provinces, first and foremost Amsterdam.²⁵⁹ Bremen's merchants exported corn to the Dutch towns, and in turn bought products from the Levant coast and England, which were then sold on to Bremen's hinterland and parts of the Holy Roman Empire. Furthermore, Bremen became an import centre for Dutch herring and Dutch merchants often commissioned Bremen ships when trading with the Baltic or other destinations.²⁶⁰ However, Bremen merchants also traded with ports like Danzig or Riga and occasionally shipped Baltic commodities such as corn and timber directly to England or the Iberian Peninsula.²⁶¹ Bergen formed another significant trade destination for Bremen merchants who maintained the biggest fleet trading with this Norwegian port (incidentally bringing them into contact with one of Scotland's larger overseas communities).²⁶² On a more local basis, the city traded with Bremen *Stift* and the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

The Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg maintained strong commercial interests within the whole region. Their trade connections with Hamburg and along the river Elbe have already been mentioned. In addition, they imported corn and other vital agrarian products from Oldenburg and Bremen *Stift* into their territory. At the same time these territories (and the city of Bremen) provided an important market for Brunswick-Lüneburg's export hit, salt.²⁶³

Bremen's dependency on free access to the Weser and the North Sea created a number of difficulties for the city which were similar to those of Hamburg. For example, the ship traffic on the river had to deal with environmental problems. These consisted less of ice and adverse winds than of a low tide which made it impossible for bigger ships to reach the city at certain times. Thus, in 1619 the senate commissioned the construction of a harbour at Vegesack, fifteen kilometres north of the city. However, even there most loaded ships were prevented from landing due to the low water level, forcing the merchants to transfer their goods onto smaller

²⁵⁸ Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 297; Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 137.

²⁵⁹ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 132.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 144.

²⁶² Ibid., 142.

²⁶³ Ibid., 137.

ships on the Weser in order to bring them into Bremen.²⁶⁴ In addition, the senate of Bremen had to ward off local powers who sought to control the river. During the sixteenth and the seventeenth century their main competitors consisted of the Counts of Oldenburg who governed in territories situated on the southern bank of the Weser. During the 1530s Oldenburg also acquired Butjadingen and Stadland strengthening their position at the river's estuary.²⁶⁵ In 1623 Count Anton Günther (1603–1667) received an Imperial privilege which allowed him to collect a toll on the Weser.²⁶⁶ At first this toll was collected at Harrierbake, but from 1624 the toll station moved permanently to Elsfleth, a village situated a few kilometres north of Bremen on the eastern banks of the Weser.²⁶⁷ The Imperial privilege was ratified by the Electors who conveniently exempted themselves and their subjects from the fees. Bremen's senate however contested Anton Günther's actions and maintained a warship at the toll station which hindered the taking of the tolls through the threat of maritime violence.²⁶⁸

The Thirty Years' War added to Bremen's difficulties. Christian IV's march into Bremen *Stift* and the election of his son as co-adjutor two years later deeply worried the Bremen authorities. In 1623 the fortification of the city (a project started in 1602/1603) resumed. By 1628 Bremen's older districts, situated on the northern bank of the Weser, received some reinforcements whereas the New Town, on the opposite side of the river, became completely fortified two years later.²⁶⁹ A city army, established between 1619 and 1625 (funded by a new consumption tax) added further to Bremen's safety.²⁷⁰ Moreover, the senate pursued a neutral policy allowing the city to become a second regional centre and marketplace for war supplies, victuals and intelligence within the wider Elbe-Weser

²⁶⁴ Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 60. See also Ulrich Weidinger, 'Strukturprobleme und Zäsuren in der Hafenentwicklung Bremens', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, vol. 70 (1998), 49.

²⁶⁵ Karl Georg Böse, *Das Grossherzogtum Oldenburg: topographisch-statistische Beschreibung desselben* (Oldenburg, 1863); 161–162; Carl-Hans Hauptmeyer, *Geschichte Niedersachsens* (München, 2009), 56; Hill, *Die Stadt und ihr Markt*, 319–328.

²⁶⁶ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 133.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ Andree Brumshagen, *Das Bremer Stadtmilitär im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Eine Untersuchung zum Militärwesen der Stadt* (Bremen, 2010), 44–45; Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 60.

²⁷⁰ Brumshagen, *Das Bremer Stadtmilitär*, 33.

region.²⁷¹ Bremen especially profited from trade with grain which was re-exported from the Lower Weser region and whose price increased significantly during the war.²⁷²

Apart from these economic benefits, the conflict brought severe difficulties for the city and its rural territories. Imperial and Danish troops—who both recognised the strategic importance of the river Weser—frequently sojourned or were quartered in the Bremen area with a detrimental impact on the population.²⁷³ The troops included Morgan's regiments in Danish service, who were quartered in Neuenkirchen und Lehe and prompted the senate to protest against the plundering of these districts.²⁷⁴ After Imperial forces under Tilly occupied Bremen *Stift* concerns were raised that the general would attack and occupy the city.²⁷⁵ The accession of Christian IV's son (Frederick) as archbishop of Bremen in 1634 also had serious implications for the city. Frederick opened the cathedral within Bremen's city walls—which officially belonged to the archbishopric—for Lutheran worship (1638), not least to assert his authority over the city.²⁷⁶

In 1646 the Emperor formally recognised Bremen's independent status within the Holy Roman Empire (*Freie Reichsstadt*) through the Diploma of Linz (*Linzer Diplom*).²⁷⁷ However, this status was contested by Sweden which had been granted Bremen *Stift* and Verden *Stift* (now duchies) in the Peace of Westphalia (1648/49). The Swedish crown claimed ownership over Bremen as in her eyes the city belonged to the duchy. In 1649 the city was forced to quarter eight Swedish companies in Lehe, Bederska and Neuenkirchen and to pay contributions.²⁷⁸ In April 1651 a Swedish commission in Stade invited the estates of the duchy of Bremen, including Bremen city, to formally accept Swedish over-lordship. The senate's refusal to follow this citation resulted in a serious conflict with Swedish forces which started to occupy Bremen territories from 1653. In July the Swedish governor of Bremen (duchy) took control of Vegesack and built a redoubt around the harbour.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, James Stewart, a Scottish

²⁷¹ Ibid., Schwarzwälder, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 62.

²⁷² Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 329.

²⁷³ TNA, SP75/5 fol. 301–302, Averie to (Carleton), Hamburg, 21/31 April 1624.

²⁷⁴ SAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1625–1627, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.4., 227, 5 April 1627. See also above.

²⁷⁵ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 16–17, Anstruther to ?, Hamburg, 17 February 1630.

²⁷⁶ Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 58; Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 337.

²⁷⁷ Elmshäuser, *Geschichte Bremens*, 58.

²⁷⁸ Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 352–353.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 354.

officer in Swedish service, began to stop Bremen ships on the Weser, forcing them to pay duties.²⁸⁰ The tensions led to an open war which lasted between March and November 1654. In order to resolve the conflict both sides agreed to a peace treaty (*Stader Vergleich*) which forced Bremen to pay reparations and to cede the districts of Bederska and Lehe to the Swedish crown. In addition the city had to formally accept Sweden's overlordship in a humiliating ceremony.²⁸¹

The dispute with Sweden was not the only conflict Bremen had to deal with during this decade. The Peace of Westphalia confirmed the right of the counts of Oldenburg to levy a toll on the Weser. When Bremen's citizens continued to refuse payment, the Emperor officially condemned Bremen (*Reichsacht*) and forced the city to pay retribution and to accept the Weser toll which was levied without disturbances after 1653.²⁸² At the same time, Bremen's trade was affected by the first Anglo-Dutch war during which the city lost out on the transport of goods between the United Provinces and England as well as on direct trade with the Dutch harbours.²⁸³ The city's merchants also lost a number of ships to Dutch and English privateers.²⁸⁴ This prompted the senate to send representatives to Amsterdam and London to assert the neutrality of Bremen ships.²⁸⁵ In the English capital, the Bremen envoy Henrich von Oldenburg negotiated for the free passage of Bremen vessels and defended the city's trade with Bergen in the dominions of the Danish monarch, the Commonwealth's enemy.²⁸⁶ In addition, Oldenburg and the senate sought to persuade Oliver Cromwell to provide financial and military aid against Sweden.²⁸⁷ At the same time, the Bremen authorities contemplated once again to attract the Hamburg Merchant Adventurers in order to strengthen the city's diplomatic and commercial relations with the British Isles.²⁸⁸ They were however not successful in their endeavours.

The levying of the Oldenburg toll on the Weser, the Anglo-Dutch war and the war against Sweden created obvious problems for Bremen's trade.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 367–371.

²⁸² Mammen, 'Schiffahrt auf der Weser', 75.

²⁸³ Ibid., 132–133.

²⁸⁴ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle, 1651–1653, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.7., 282, 25 June 1653 and 262, 14 May 1653.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ TNA, SP82/9 fol. 161–164, Henrich von Oldenburg to ?, London, 29 December 1653.

²⁸⁷ StAB, Verhältnisse zu einzelnen Städten und Ländern, 2-W.9.b.2., Correspondence between Bremen Senate and Oliver Cromwell (1653–1656).

²⁸⁸ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle, 1651–1653, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.7., 262, 14 May 1653.

As if these disruptions had not been enough, the Swedish-Danish conflict brought further difficulties. In 1657 three Danish men-of-war sailed into the Weser which threatened the commercial traffic and caused disturbance.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Bremen's trade flourished at the end of the decade—a testament to the city's commercial strength. Shortly after the Stuart Restoration, the senate sent a letter to Charles II, in which they stressed their economic potential by referring to the favourable location of their city on the Weser, as opposed to the Elbe.²⁹⁰ They also asked for an exemption from the Navigation Acts which was granted in 1669 resulting in an increased trade with England.²⁹¹

Whilst the senate was attempting to improve their relationship with the Stuart monarch, the dispute with Sweden resumed. In December 1660 Bremen paid homage to the Emperor as a free Imperial city and refused to accept the over-lordship of the Swedish king, Charles XI, who was then a minor.²⁹² Tensions created from these actions eventually resulted in a second Bremen-Swedish war (1665–1666) in which Swedish forces occupied Bremen's remaining rural territory.²⁹³ The conflict was also fought on the river Weser where Sweden eradicated a large part of Bremen's merchant fleet at Lesum in 1666.²⁹⁴ The city was eventually able to defend itself due to the support of foreign powers, including Brunswick-Lüneburg, Brandenburg, Denmark-Norway and the Netherlands. In the peace treaty of Habenhausen (1666) Bremen agreed to give up its status as a free city after the conclusion of the Imperial diet's current session.²⁹⁵ However, the dispute continued with the Swedish crown maintaining her interest in the river. In April 1668 Bremen skippers were attacked on the Weser by a Swedish privateer.²⁹⁶ Four years later the Swedish governor Henrik Horn built the fortification of Carlsburg at the Lower Weser in order to attract

²⁸⁹ Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 373.

²⁹⁰ TNA, SP82/10, Bremen Senate to Charles II, Bremen, 31 August 1661.

²⁹¹ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 147; Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 37.

²⁹² Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 376.

²⁹³ Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 237–239; Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 376–389.

²⁹⁴ Karl Löbe, *Seeschiffahrt in Bremen: Das Schiff gestaltete Hafen und Stadt* (Bremen, 1989), 142–143.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* As this session ran until the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 this clause was, however, irrelevant. Nevertheless, the loss of all former Bremen territories north of the city and at the Lower Weser to Sweden was confirmed within the treaty.

²⁹⁶ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1668–1675, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.11, 46, Attack on Bremen skippers on the river Weser.

and control trade on the river.²⁹⁷ To entice migrants to come to the town, citizens were to be exempted from taxes for 20 years and religious toleration of all Christian faiths was granted.²⁹⁸

The Danish monarchs likewise kept an interest in the river during this period, as they aimed to curb the interest of their rival Sweden in the region. After Anton Günther's death in 1667 Oldenburg and Delmenhorst fell under the official control of Frederick III and Duke Christian of Holstein-Gottorp.²⁹⁹ The latter ceded his rights to the Danish monarch who now ruled over a considerable territory south of the Weser and collected two thirds of the Weser toll.³⁰⁰ The remaining third of the duties and some smaller districts (Jade, Schwei) were initially given to Anton Günther's son Anton von Aldenburg. However after his death in 1680 they also fell to the Danish crown.³⁰¹ Their influence in Oldenburg renewed the Danish monarchs' interest in Bremen and Verden. Christian V's engagement in the Imperial war (*Reichskrieg*) against Sweden was not least motivated by the possibility of gaining control of the duchies which separated Oldenburg from Holstein.³⁰² This conflict brought new troops of the allied forces into the region some of which arrived on the river Weser. For example, in September 1675 the Elector of Brandenburg sent a small fleet with soldiers who temporarily laid a siege on Carlsburg.³⁰³ However, they were unsuccessful and the fortress only fell a few months later after a siege by Münster, Guelph and Danish troops.³⁰⁴ Despite these disruptions, Bremen maintained a successful trade in the second half of the century not least as the neutral city was able to supply both factions of the third Anglo-Dutch war (1672–1674) with arms, ammunitions and victuals. By 1676 Bremen's fleet actually became too small for the city's volume of trade resulting in the commissioning of ships from England, Scotland, Lübeck and Danzig.³⁰⁵ During the peace negotiations at Nijmegen (1678–1679) Bremen once again tried to gain recognition as a free Imperial city, utilizing Sweden's weakness after the loss of Bremen and Verden. Charles II

²⁹⁷ Fiedler, 'Bremen und Verden', 220.

²⁹⁸ Göhler, *Wege des Glaubens*, 260.

²⁹⁹ Nistahl, 'Die Reichsexekution', 97.

³⁰⁰ van den Heuvel, 'Niedersachsen', 140–141.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

³⁰² Nistahl, 'Die Reichsexekution', 97. See also above.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 101–102.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

³⁰⁵ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 135. In fact, Bremen's intake from excise tax was highest in 1673 and sank considerably in 1675 after the Anglo-Dutch war.

tried to assist the city in their endeavour, mediating between the Emperor and Sweden.³⁰⁶ He was however not successful in achieving an agreement between both parties.

During the 1680s and 1690s Bremen's trade gradually declined, although trade relations with the United Provinces and England remained strong. In 1686 an English company was founded which consisted of 40 Bremen merchants.³⁰⁷ Their trade came under threat from French privateers during the Nine Years' War (1688–1697) and during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), which prompted the senate to purchase two large convoy ships which protected the Bremen merchant fleet on their routes between England, the United Provinces and the Weser estuary.³⁰⁸

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that multiple connections existed between the different territories of the wider Elbe-Weser region which were of a religious, commercial or political nature. These established points of contact between the different entities which in turn enhanced networking across political borders. These connections were mainly established due to the rivers Elbe and Weser as well as the smaller waterways of Aller and Ilmenau in two different ways. Firstly, the rivers provided vital communication links between and within the territories, permitting economic exchange and facilitating the creation of the centres of Bremen and Hamburg which acted as staples and gateways into the region. At the same time, the Elbe and Weser connected the area with the wider world establishing links with important commercial areas such as the United Provinces, the British Isles and the Iberian Peninsula. Secondly, due to their strategic importance, as recognised by various powers, control over the rivers Elbe and Weser caused a number of conflicts bringing foreign troops and administrators into the region thus enhancing migration and cross-border networking, particularly among those seeking to circumnavigate obstacles to commerce. However, it was not only the rivers which created links between the political entities. It is notable that some of those territories discussed were not politically confined by one coherent geographical area. Examples include the district of Ritzebüttel and Moorburg

³⁰⁶ TNA, SP82/16 fol. 70–73, Bremen Senate to Charles II.

³⁰⁷ Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 402.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

in Hamburg's possession or the district of Hadeln under the control of Sachsen-Lauenburg. Furthermore, districts within the cities of Bremen and Hamburg themselves, e.g. the cathedral district in Bremen and the court of Schauenburg, belonged to external rulers. These sprinkled possessions within specific territories certainly blurred the distinct borders between city and rural areas and more importantly facilitated exchange between the territories. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the Scots were sometimes instrumental in this process. Another important point is that of perspective. From Christian IV's (and his successors') point of view Hamburg was very much a part of Holstein and thus part of the Danish realm whereas the Hamburgers and the Emperor disagreed with this interpretation. A similar scenario applies for Bremen which in the opinion of Bremen's archbishop or Sweden's government was their legal possession. These different views not only created further conflict with consequences for social interaction but also challenge our own perspectives on the confinement and distinctiveness of political territories within the wider Elbe-Weser region. In each of the territories described and in each particular sphere, Scots could be found in a variety of capacities demonstrably aiding commodity exchange and communication across political frontiers. Their activities and networks will be analysed in the following chapters.



Map 1. Bremen and Verden © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen; Signatur Kt I 44.



Glückstadt

Stade

Altona

Hamburg

Lüneburg

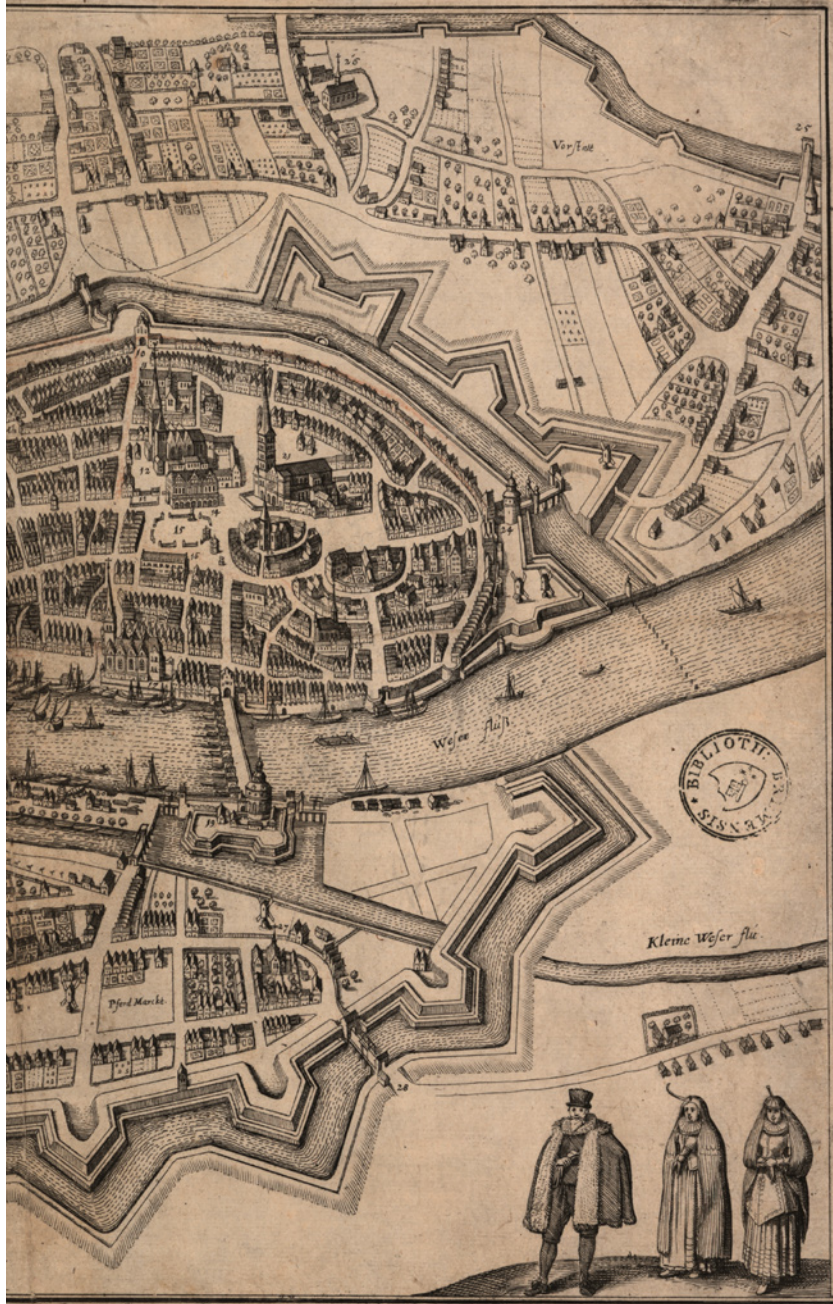
DU CATUS
BREMÆ et FERDÆ.
Maximæque partis
DU CATUS STORMARIÆ, COMITATUS
OLDENBURGI.
ALBIS, VISURGISQUE FLUMINUM
Novissima Descriptio,
per
NICOLAUM VISSCHER.



Map 2. Holstein © Riksarkivet, Stockholm; No. 534.

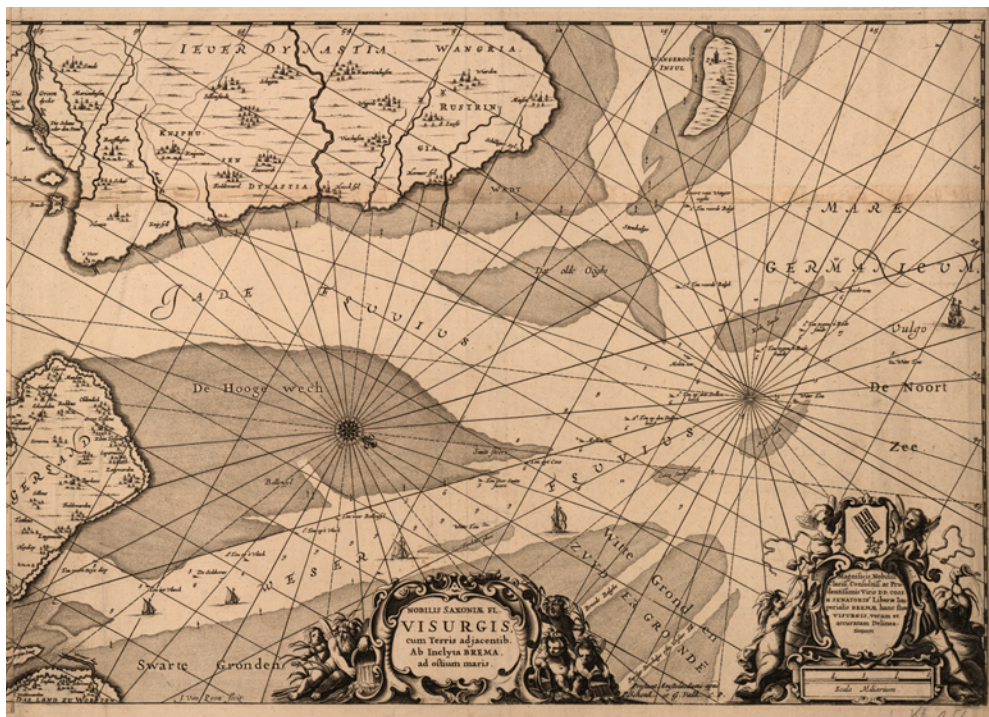


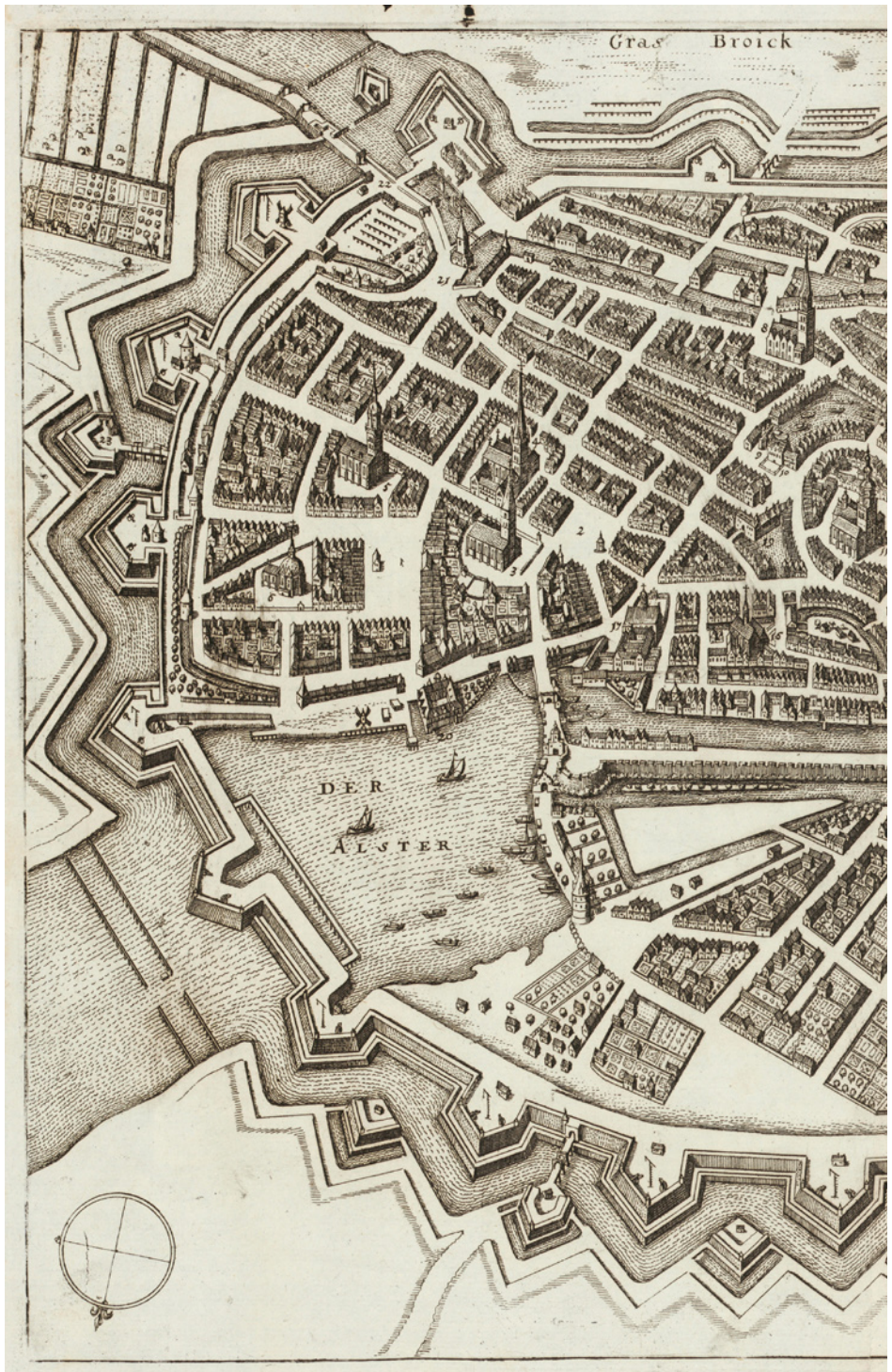
Map 3. Bremen (c.1640) © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen; Signatur V.2a.235 No. 248.





Map 4. Lower Weser River (P. Schenk/ G. Valk, c.1696) © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen; Signatur Kt I 56.





Map 5. Hamburg (Matthäus Merian, 1653) © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg; Signatur Kt H 26.

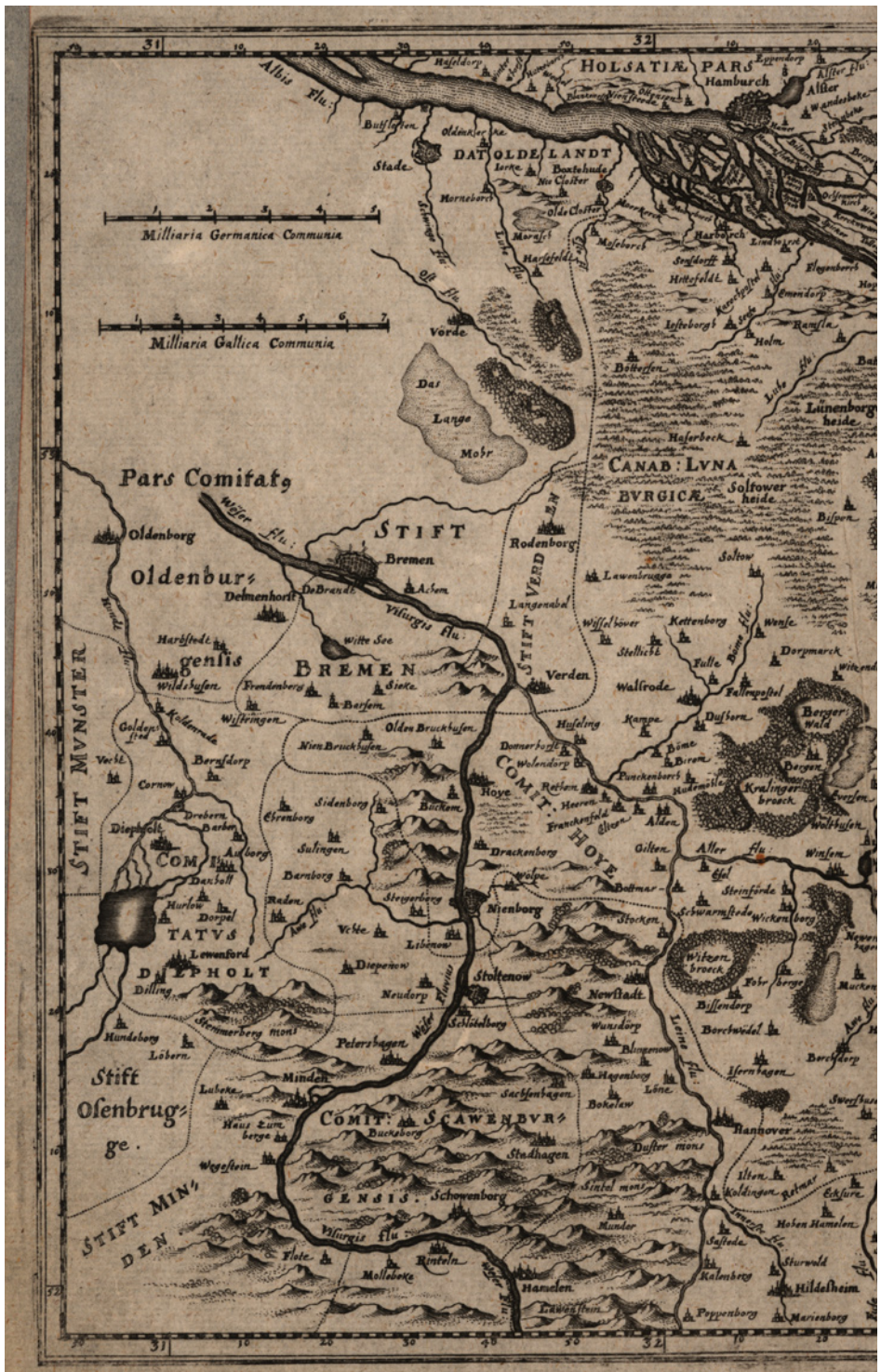
HAMBVRGVN.



DIE ELBE
FLV.



- | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Pferde markt. | 9. Alte Gran. | 21. Meßberg. |
| 2. Opn berge. | 10. Die Bours. | 22. Wüßer baum. |
| 3. S. Peter. | 11. S. Nicolaus. | 23. Stein thor. |
| 4. Der Domb. | 12. Hopfe markt. | 24. Keer weder. |
| 5. S. Jacob. | 13. Der Neue Gran. | 25. Reiche sträß. |
| 6. S. Gertraud. | 14. Heilig Geiße. | 26. Engels wuß. |
| 7. Fiße markt. | 15. Bulle stal. | 27. Neue Markt. |
| 8. S. Cathrina. | 16. S. Maria Magdalena. | 28. Schiff bauer brock. |
| | 17. S. Iohann. | 29. Neue Bruck. |
| | 18. Weißen bauße. | 30. Hoch Bruck. |
| | 19. Rüt bauße. | 31. Im Grim. |
| | 20. Züch bauße. | 32. S. Cathrina sträß. |



Map 7. Brunswick-Lüneburg © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen; Signatur Kt I 58.



CHAPTER TWO

COMMERCIAL LINKS AND MERCANTILE NETWORKS C. 1590–1730

A constant trade hither from Scotland may certainly
be beneficial for a rolling stone never gathers moss.
(Robert Jolly, Hamburg, 1683)¹

Scotland's economic ties with Northern Europe resulted in the formation of ethnically distinct and sizeable Scottish communities which were facilitated by chain migration and frequently evolved around specific social anchors such as a Scottish church. These communities were predominantly located in North Sea and Baltic ports, but could also be found in places further inland. They differed greatly in their interaction with local authorities and their integration into the receiving societies. Douglas Catterall, for example, identified and analysed the Scottish community at Rotterdam, whose importance and influence within the city manifested itself in the foundation of a Scottish church in 1643 by a contract between the Scots and the city authorities.² This institution contributed significantly to a clearer definition of the Scottish expatriate community within Rotterdam's wider society; especially as the kirk was given responsibility for poor relief of Scottish-born Scots.³ Whereas the beginnings of the Rotterdam community can be attributed to the strong Scottish commercial relations with the port, Scottish migration to and community building in the port of Bergen received official support from an early date. The Danish-Norwegian kings Hans (1483–1513) and Christian II (1513–1523) sought to entice economic competitors to the city to counteract the established powerful Hanseatic merchants and German artisans who had dominated Bergen's trade during the Middle Ages.⁴ Although their measures did not specifically target Scottish merchants, the Scots formed a distinguishable group at Bergen

¹ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 11 March 1683.

² Douglas Catterall, 'Scots along the Maas', c. 1570–1750', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 169–190. See also Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic c. 1600–1700* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2002).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Nina Pedersen, 'Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.) *Scottish Communities*, 135–143.

by 1523. The Scottish community in Bergen was strengthened by further Scottish migrants who were attracted by friendly Stuart-Oldenburg relations (which in 1589 led to a reciprocal agreement giving Scots, Danes and Norwegians equal status in each other's nations) and favourable trade conditions.⁵ However, marriage patterns and business connections suggest an integration process into Bergen's society during the seventeenth century which can be explained by the declining power of the Hanseatic merchants and the subsequent opening up of Bergen's wider community to Scots and other foreigners.⁶

As in Bergen, Scottish immigration was encouraged by the ruling elite in the private Lithuanian town of Kedainiai. From the early 1630s onwards Scots formed a privileged group under the protection of Duke Krzysztof Radziwill as contributors to the town's economic life and supporters of the Calvinist church.⁷ The cohesion of the Scottish individuals—who were highly influential within the city—is testified by Scottish services held in the reformed church as well as by Scottish self-descriptions. In fact, Scottish links became so strong that church officials encouraged communication between Scots and the local population. From the 1640s onwards Scots started to integrate into the local community by marrying into the Protestant elite and by accepting a minister who held services in Polish. However, despite their partial absorption, Scots remained attached to their origins (or at least remembered them in times of crisis) and sought support from their home country when their economic success declined at the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁸ Thus, compared to the community in Rotterdam which centred around the institutional support of the kirk, Scottish communities in Bergen and Kedainiai were based on significant numbers of Scottish immigrants and their social connections between each other. The same can be said for the port of Gothenburg, where a total of 50 Scots became burgesses during the seventeenth century and various church registers—particularly those of the German Christina Church—demonstrate social links between Scots who

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 162–163.

⁷ Linas Eriksonas, 'The Lost Colony of Scots': Unravelling Overseas Connections in a Lithuanian Town', in Macinnes, Riis and Pedersen (eds.), *Ships, Guns and Bibles*, 173–187; Steve Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai (Kiejdany) in its Scandinavian and Baltic Context', *Almanach Historyczny*, 9 (2007), 47–61; Rimantas Zirgulis, 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 225–245.

⁸ Zirgulis, 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai', 232–240.

intermarried or acted as godparents to each other's offspring.⁹ Scottish migration to this city was encouraged by the presence of other Scots who had established themselves in the area from the late sixteenth century onwards, particularly in Gothenburg's forerunners Älvsborg and Lödöse. The establishment of a defined Scottish community was also helped by a decree of Gustav II Adolf (1611–1632) which accredited two seats at the town council to Scots and economic benefits afforded to new settlers.¹⁰

Considering the existence of these communities, it is perhaps surprising that the wider Elbe-Weser region did not play host to similar coherent and identifiable groups of Scottish migrants. This is especially so since places such as Altona, Glückstadt, Bremen and Hamburg were principally open to foreigners and sought to attract profitable incomers.¹¹ None of the surviving demographic registers or any other official sources reveal the presence of a larger group of Scottish traders at any particular time. What we do find instead is a number of individual Scots of varying significance. For example, one of the more prominent Scottish merchants located within the region was a man called Robert Jolly who settled in Hamburg in 1678 after a career as master of the ship *George*.¹² Over the next 23 years—interrupted by a short stay in the Scottish colony at Darien—he not only traded with the east coast of Scotland and Shetland but also maintained commercial links with Bremen as well as with England, France, Norway and the Iberian Peninsula.¹³ His closest business contact at Hamburg in the first years after his arrival in 1678 was the fellow Scot William Grison who settled in the city from the early 1640s.¹⁴ Grison traded with Scotland and England, the Netherlands as well as the Iberian Peninsula and, crucially, maintained contacts with Scottish, English and German traders at Bremen.¹⁵ While we can trace some of Jolly's and Grison's trade activities from the extant sources, we lack concrete information on other Scottish merchants. For example, in 1669 Isaac Simonson moved from Scotland to Hamburg, employing the Edinburgh merchant Robert Sandilands to look

⁹ Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg', in Grosjean and Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities*, 194, 211–214.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 191–197.

¹¹ See chapter 1.

¹² NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC7/4, William Anderson vs. Robert Jolly and George and William Foulter.

¹³ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140. Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nation* (Edinburgh, 2007), 126.

¹⁴ StAH, Genealogische Sammlungen, 741–2, Die Fremden in den Rechnungsbüchern der Wedde und Kämmererei.

¹⁵ Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 57–58.

after his Scottish business affairs. Thereafter we lose trace of him. He thus appears as an isolated individual although he must have had meaningful contacts within and outwith his host community.¹⁶

The only document from which we can gauge a larger Scottish mercantile presence is the church book of the Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg. Out of more than 800 adults listed between 1620 and 1707, over 40 men and women carry identifiable Scottish names, such as George and Jane Stewart (1620), Thomas Meldrum (1623), James Hume (1623), James Murray (1626), John Durie (1646) or John Gordon (1655).¹⁷ Some of these individuals, like Stewart, were Scottish merchants active within the company. Others, like Meldrum, were in Hamburg on military or diplomatic missions, whereas a few others like Durie were present in a religious capacity.¹⁸ James Hume (of Godscroft) belonged to the world of academia and published a Hebrew grammar in the city which he dedicated to Hamburg's provost, Johann Brandt. Like the Scottish theologian John Durie he styled himself as 'Scoto-Britannus' hinting at associations with the wider British community.¹⁹ We can perhaps add to them some of the 40 or so individuals whose names could indicate either an English or Scottish origin.²⁰ Although this Anglo-Scottish interaction was not uncommon, it deserves further investigation in this and following chapters.²¹ However, since not all of these Scots were present in a mercantile capacity, and as Scottish activity within the company was dispersed over the whole period, we are still not faced

¹⁶ In addition to these men we also find the occasional Germanised form of a Scottish name within Hamburg and Bremen's official registers but without any further information we are unable to say conclusively whether these individuals were indeed ethnically Scottish or other foreigners or Germans whose names appear Scottish to us. For example, a man called Johan Andreaß Kampell acquired citizen rights at Hamburg in 1647. His name could be a German version of John Andrew Campbell.

StAH, Genealogische Sammlungen, 741–2, Register zum Bürgerbuch 1629–1663, 11 June 1647.

¹⁷ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6; Franz Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs* (14 vols., Göttingen, 1997), vol. 6d, 94–96. For a list of identified and possible Scots listed in the church book of the Merchant Adventurers see appendix.

¹⁸ For information on Thomas Meldrum see Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 246–247. For John Durie see chapter 4.

¹⁹ James Hume of Godscroft, *Rhadiometheia Linguae Hebraeae: hoc est grammatica Haebrae opera Iacobi Humii Theagridis Scoto-Britanni* (Hamburg, 1624). I would like to thank Professor Arthur Williamson for this information.

²⁰ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6; Franz Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs*, vol. 6d, 94–96. Examples include Peter and Katherine Clark (1620), Joshua Cooper (1622) or Nicolas and Jane Andrew (1657).

²¹ For more on such interaction see Murdoch, *Network North*, 209.

with a large cluster of Scottish traders at any one time. This absence of a permanently settled, but ethnically distinctive Scottish merchant community in the wider Elbe-Weser region is in itself a significant finding. There are several explanations for the absence of a sizeable Scottish mercantile presence which will be further explored within this chapter. As explained in chapter 1 the region's host communities offered different privileges to incomers which in turn facilitated varying degrees of integration. Bremen's senate for example was generally anxious to avoid the formation of ethnic communities within their society. However, this policy was sometimes softened when the magistrates thought that commercial advantages would outweigh the potential social disruption attached to the settlement of a group of foreigners. Bremen's occasional attempts to attract the Merchant Adventurers have already been mentioned. When the company settled permanently in Hamburg in 1611, Bremen's senate looked for alternative links with the British Isles and sought to introduce a permanent wool and cloth trade with Scottish ports.²² However, this project failed as some of the magistrates thought that the required start capital would be too high. They were also concerned that if Bremen traders were to receive special privileges in Scotland, they would have to award the same rights to Scots coming to their city.²³

Whereas Bremen facilitated the influx of individual traders, the Hamburg senate attracted sizeable groups of Dutch, Portuguese and English merchants to their city. The presence of these communities negated the authorities' need to negotiate with other nationals for similar trade privileges. Competition from the Dutch, Portuguese and English is thus a likely explanation as to why we do not find a Scottish community in Hamburg. However, the absence of such a community was not necessarily of any disadvantage. As will become clear, individual Scottish merchants were highly successful in cooperating with and making use of the privileges awarded to the existing communities, frequently changing their identities to suit their needs. This behaviour may also explain why we cannot find obvious Scottish communities within the territories outside of either Bremen or Hamburg.

Obviously, the lack of a larger and cohesive mercantile presence does not mean that the region was unimportant to Scottish merchants and Scottish trade. The examples of Jolly, Grison and Simonson reveal that the

²² StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.1, 10, 1613.

²³ *Ibid.*

area was of significance to a number of individual Scots. Furthermore, the extant analysis from British, German and Scandinavian historians gives a limited view on the existence of important commercial links between Scotland and Northwest Germany. These studies predominantly focus on German activity within Shetland, while mainland Scottish commercial connections have either largely been ignored or overly centred on a particular product in a given location rather than a more holistic evaluation of the commercial networks behind such trade.²⁴ For example, Kurt Schwebel devoted a considerable part of his monograph on Bremen's important role as a market for imports of Scottish salt and the Scots-Bremen commercial networks which derived from this trade.²⁵ His work is a valuable starting point for analysing the commercial exchange of Scottish salt in the region, especially as Schwebel has evaluated the available statistical material in the state archives of Bremen and Oldenburg. Schwebel's research is, however, restricted in that it does not consider Scottish records and only focuses on one particular commodity in a single location within a much larger region. In addition, commercial links between the Scottish mainland and Northwest Germany are only touched upon in publications concentrating on Scottish trade in general or on the commercial exchange with individual Scottish commodities or not mentioned at all.²⁶ Similarly, works on trade relations of the commercial centres of the wider Elbe-Weser region do not extensively examine Scottish links. From a German perspective there is an endemic confusion over the political situation within the British Isles resulting in the identification of Scots as

²⁴ E.V.K. Brill, 'Whalsey and the Bremen Connection', *Shetland Life*, vol. 17 (March 1982), 10–17; E.V.K. Brill, 'More Bremen Connections with Shetland', *Shetland Life*, vol. 30 (April 1983), 34–45; Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 86–95; Liv Kjorsvik Schei, *The Shetland Story* (London, 1988); Hance D. Smith, *Shetland Life and Trade, 1550–1914* (Edinburgh, 1984); Frances J. Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland: Their Economy and Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1981).

²⁵ Kurt Schwebel, *Salz im Alten Bremen*, (Bremen, 1988).

²⁶ For publications which only touch upon Scottish-Northwest German trade relations see for example Michael Lynch and David Ditchburn, 'Scottish Trade in the Seventeenth Century', in Peter G.B. McNeill and Hector L. MacQueen (eds.), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), 266–283; John Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal Industry* (4 vols., Oxford, 1993); S.G.E. Lythe, 'Early Modern Trade, c. 1550 to 1707', in S.G.E. Lythe and Gordon Jackson (eds.), *The Port of Montrose* (Tayport, 1993), 87–101; S.G.E. Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European setting, 1550–1625* (Edinburgh/London, 1960), 46–51; T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union 1660–1707* (Edinburgh/London, 1963), 224–232; Christopher Whatley, *The Scottish Salt Industry 1570–1850: An Economic and Social History* (Aberdeen, 1987). See also Chapter 5 'Fishing and Overseas Trade' in S.G.E. Lythe and J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland, 1100–1939* (Glasgow/London, 1975).

Englishmen or other nationals which occurs in some studies stemming, in part, from the devices utilised by the Scots to conceal their identity to make use of trade privileges afforded to other national groups.²⁷

This chapter does not suggest that Scottish-Northwest German trade relations matched the Scottish-Norwegian timber or Scottish-Dutch trade in volume or significance, but it certainly points to more significant connections than previously uncovered.²⁸ It draws the results of the extant studies together and adds to them from numerous streams of previously untapped primary source material. By doing so it reveals that Scottish-German links deriving from commercial exchange in a number of commodities were not unimportant, not least in key Scottish export goods like fish.

Scottish Fish Exports: Whitefish

Previous research has established that Hamburg and Bremen provided the most important outlet for whitefish like cod and ling caught in the inshore waters off Shetland.²⁹ Whereas Bremen merchants started to visit the islands from the fifteenth century Hamburg traders began to travel to Shetland on a regular basis from 1547.³⁰ The Hamburgers had

²⁷ Witzendorff for example subsumes aspects of Scottish trade under the headline 'England'. Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 145–147. Reißmann does likewise. In addition he identifies the Scottish merchant William Grison as a Dutchman probably due to the fact that he originated in Veere. This is technically not wrong as Scots born in this town—which housed the Scottish staple—were perceived as fellow Dutchmen by the inhabitants and some of them acquired citizen rights. However, by referring to Grison as Dutch, Reißmann both misses his Scottish connections and over-inflates the overall Dutch influence. Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 55–58, 380. For information on Scots in Veere see Victor Enthoven, 'Thomas Cunningham (1604–1669): Conservator of the Scottish Court at Veere', in Dickson, Parmentier and Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks*, 44–45.

²⁸ For the Scottish-Norwegian timber trade see for example chapter 15 'Hollendertid och Skottetid' in Erik Opsahl/Sølvi Sogner, *Norsk Invandringshistorie* (Oslo, 2003), vol. 1, 297–315; A. Lillehammer, 'The Scottish-Norwegian Timber Trade in the Stavanger Area in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in T.C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), 97–111; Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, vol. 1, 39–80 and vol. 2, 148–277. For Scottish-Dutch trade relations see Enthoven, 'Thomas Cunningham', 39–66.

²⁹ Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 180.

³⁰ Trade relations pre-date the transfer of Shetland to the Scottish crown from the Norwegian kingdom in 1469 as part of the marriage contract between James III and Margaret, Christian I's daughter. These initially occurred via the staple port of Bergen. For more information on this early commercial exchange see Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 87–89; For the transfer of Shetland see Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 22; Smith, *Shetland*, 10. Two gravestones of Bremen merchants give evidence of their early presence in Shetland. One of them, which dates from 1573, belongs to Segebad

previously focused on trade with Faroe but regulations imposed by the Danish crown in 1553 directed Hamburg's merchants towards Shetland.³¹ Christian IV's prohibition of trade with Iceland in 1602 increased the commercial exchange with the islands even further.³² From then on a distinctive trade pattern emerged, with German ships sailing to Shetland in early spring before returning in late August or early September.³³

The German merchants traded goods directly from their ship or set up booths on the shore offering commodities such as fishing equipment, household items, essential foodstuffs as well as beer and tobacco. Shetland exports consisted predominantly of white and other sea fish complemented by hides, skins, tallow and feathers, or butter and fish oil which had been paid in kind by the Shetlanders to the landowners.³⁴ Coarse woollen cloth (wadmel) which was paid as rent (replaced by a cash payment sometime after 1628) was also exported.³⁵ Bremen and Hamburg merchants furthermore engaged in the inshore fisheries for cod and ling as well as in the herring fisheries further offshore.³⁶ Their trading activities received limited competition from English and Scottish traders as well as from the Dutch who exchanged commodities like tobacco or brandy at the fairs in Bressay Sound, Gulberwick and Levenwick.³⁷ In addition,

Detjen and records that the Bremen merchants had traded with the islands for 52 years. Smith, *Shetland*, 10–11; Schei, *The Shetland Story*, 125.

³¹ Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 90–91; Smith, *Shetland*, 12.

³² Baasch, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt', 312; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 181–182.

³³ Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 91; Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands*, 173; Smith, *Shetland*, 15–17. For a contemporary description of this trading pattern see John Brand, *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland Firth & Caithness* (Edinburgh, 1701), 131–133 or Thomas Gifford of Busta, *Historical Description of the Zetland Islands in the year 1733* (Edinburgh, 1879), 25–26.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Smith, *Shetland*, 17; Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands*, 173. Some German merchants sold commodities at Orkney on their way to Shetland. Orkney Archives, Commissioners of Supply, Co1/1/1, Adolph Westerman vs. Patrick Craigie, Kirkwall, 17 November 1666.

³⁶ In 1540 James V imposed a strict territorial limit around the Scottish coast following an incident in which Dutch and Bremen fishermen ran down several Scottish fishing boats drowning over 20 men. From then on armed ships patrolled the sea, making trade the best legal way to get fish for Bremen merchants. In 1632 a 14-mile fishing limit for foreign ships was introduced by an Act of the Scottish Parliament. Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas?*, 20. However, despite these regulations German merchants were partaking in the fisheries off Shetland, at least for their own consumption. *RPCS, Third Series*, 1662, 182, Supplication by the Earl of Morton, 4 March 1662; Smith, *Shetland*, 21. For details on the herring fisheries see below.

³⁷ Smith, *Shetland*, 21–22 and 27–28.

merchants from the Baltic ports of Danzig (from 1487), Lübeck (from 1562), Rostock (from 1599) and Stralsund (from 1601) also traded with the Shetland Isles. However, most of their trade links ceased to exist by 1645 due in part to the ongoing civil wars in the British Isles.³⁸

Information on market conditions for whitefish in Hamburg and Bremen is limited. Bremen trade records reveal that cod was the most important fish species imported to the city in the first half of the seventeenth century. However, this commodity not only arrived from Shetland but also from Bergen and—until 1602—from Iceland.³⁹ Bergen cod was considered to be of premium quality and thus must have represented strong competition to the Northern Isles.⁴⁰ The analysis of sample years of the Weser toll registers reveals that in 1654, 1656, 1664 and 1673 two to three Bremen ships engaged annually in the Shetland trade.⁴¹ In each of these years Hermann Detjen was skipper and merchant on one of these ships.⁴² He also owned commodities imported by Jasper Büsing who was the only other skipper to return to the Weser from Shetland in 1656 and thus appears as the dominant Bremen merchant in this period.⁴³ His engagement in Shetland was meant to be long-term as can be seen from the fact that he acquired a piece of land at Haroldswick in Unst which was granted to him and his heirs for three generations.⁴⁴ Detjen's relative Heinrich also engaged in Shetland trade during the 1670s. After 1678 he and Detjen retired and transferred their business to Frederick Detjen, clearly the son of one of them.⁴⁵ Bremen's Shetland trade thus seems to have been confined to a relatively small group of merchants. This may have contributed to the fact that they were not organised in a mercantile society.⁴⁶

³⁸ Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 90. Lübeck's trade relations continued until the 1660s. *RPCS, Third Series, 1662*, 182, Supplication by the Earl of Morton, 4 March 1662.

³⁹ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 154.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20-AB-D2, Elsfleth, 22 May, 8 June, 5 November 1654; Best. 20-AB-D3, Elsfleth, 19, 23 May, 23 September, 21 October 1656; Best. 20-AB-D10, Elsfleth, 24 July, 17, 23 October 1664; Best. 20-AB-D18, Elsfleth, 2, 3 and 8 May 1673.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20-AB-D3, Elsfleth, 21 October 1656. In 1661 six Bremen merchants appear to have traded with Shetland. Apart from Hermann Detjen these were Dirich Kuning, Lueder Loesekanne, Hinrich Lankenow, Jasper Hackmann and Lür Pewe. See StAB, Korrespondenz, 2-W.9.b.10, Bremen Senate to Jacob Jacobsen in London, Several Documents, Bremen, 1661–1662.

⁴⁴ Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 174.

⁴⁵ Brill, 'Whalsey', 11.

⁴⁶ Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 39.

After the cessation of trade with Iceland, Hamburg's traders—like their counterparts in Bremen, depended increasingly on whitefish imports from the Northern Isles. Baasch's analysis of the city's trade and shipping records revealed that between 1604 and 1624 three to eight ships returned annually from the islands.⁴⁷ The evaluation of the extant admiralty trade records demonstrated that 21 Hamburg merchants traded with Shetland between 1644 and 1646.⁴⁸ The vast majority of these merchants—who achieved moderate profits compared to some of their counterparts trading with other destinations—specialised in trade with the islands. Some Hamburg skippers sailed to Shetland on behalf of other traders, and thus only profited in a contractual manner as opposed to reaping the full profit available.⁴⁹

Hamburg merchants trading with Shetland (*Hitlandfahrer*) organised themselves within the society of merchants trading with Iceland (*Islandfahrer*). During the seventeenth century this body concerned itself solely with poor relief of its members, financed by the contributions of merchants and crew members.⁵⁰ Its records show that contact between Hamburg traders and Shetland merchants did not exclusively occur within the islands. Some of the Hamburg ships sailing between the city and the islands were partly crewed by Scots such as Laurence Sinclair who paid a small sum to the society's poor box in 1593.⁵¹ Another example derives from Andrew and James Mowat, whose comparatively large payments to the poor box (which exceeded even those of several Hamburgers) indicate that their role went beyond that of mere mariners.⁵² James Mowat's engagement within Hamburg went even further than his payments to this

⁴⁷ Baasch, 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt', 312.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 72–73.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 182–183.

⁵¹ StAH, Genealogische Sammlungen, 741–2, Verzeichnis der Hamburger Hitland-Fahrer 1547–1646. The same source reveals that over a dozen other Scots have similarly been identified as crew on Hamburg ships. Laurens Sinclair's relative Andrew Sinclair sailed on several Hamburg ships between 1607 and 1616. Other Scots sailing on Hamburg ships to Shetland included Angus Murray (1617, 1618, 1624, 1625), John Murray (1624, 1625), Gilbert Harde (1625), Thomas Sinclair (1626). Other individuals such as Henrich Manneken (1630, 1632), his relative Hans Manneken (1630), Andrew and James Mowat (1628, 1630, 1631) as well as another unidentified Shetlander (1643) were on the other specifically registered as Shetlandic although the name Mowat clearly indicates a Scottish origin. In addition the Hamburg registers list further individuals who are likely to have been Scots such as Andreas Krafft (Andrew Crawford) (1635). For a list of these individuals see appendix.

⁵² Ibid.

organisation. On 7 May 1631 he received communion in the church of the Merchant Adventurers signifying a close connection to the company.⁵³

German merchants trading in Shetland participated in financial transactions between Scottish merchants. In November 1639 the Bremen citizen Court Warnke received 500 Imperial dollars from John Sinclair of Rapnes (in Orkney) in Shetland which he forwarded to the secretary of the Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg, Joseph Averie, on behalf of Sinclair.⁵⁴ Averie was to transfer this sum to William Stirling in Scotland who was then to pay it to the Edinburgh merchant, William Dick or another trader Peter Smith, Andrew Smith's brother.⁵⁵ It is possible that the money had to take this circuitous route to Scotland due to the instabilities of financial exchange during the Covenanting Revolution. The most likely reason for this transaction was that Warnke had sold commodities on behalf of John Sinclair and Andrew Smith and was thus in possession of the 500 Imperial dollars at Bremen. This sale of commodities in itself required a certain degree of trust in the Bremen merchant. Furthermore, Warnke addressed Stirling as his 'unknown friend' indicating that their connection was not based on personal contact but almost certainly by recommendation of trusted business partners and factors.⁵⁶ Thus he was drawing on a recommendation or 'network linkage' of 'auld acquaintance' used extensively by Scots abroad in this period.⁵⁷

From the beginning of the Restoration Period (1660) several acts were enforced in Britain which seriously affected the operations of Bremen and Hamburg merchants in or with Shetland. These have to be seen in a wider context of policies designed to bolster Charles II's attempts to strengthen the English and Scottish fisheries and trade at the expense of foreigners.⁵⁸ This included a heavy increase in excise duties on imports resulting in a petition by Bremen merchants to their senate to intervene on their behalf. They doubted that the policies had been issued by the Scottish Privy Council or by the Scottish Parliament, asking the senators

⁵³ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 7 May 1631.

⁵⁴ NAS, Smythe Papers, GD190/3/151/3, Averie to Court Warnke, Hamburg, 29 November 1639; GD190/3/234/3, Warnke to William Stirling, Bremen, 18 March 1640.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ NAS, Smythe Papers, GD190/3/234/3, Warnke to William Stirling, Bremen, 18 March 1640.

⁵⁷ Murdoch, *Network North*, 73–77.

⁵⁸ Thomas Weymss Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea: A Historical Account of the Claims of England to the Dominion of the British Seas* (Edinburgh/London, 1911), 441–445. For details on fishery policies see below.

to approach these institutions, helpfully attaching a short description of the Scottish political system to their letter.⁵⁹ The presumption that the increased duties were a Royal rather than a Scottish policy resulted from the merchants' knowledge that Shetland's inhabitants depended on their imports—a point raised in their petition.⁶⁰ If the senators became involved they were not successful. Taxes increased further during the 1670s and 1680s leading to expressed concerns from Shetlanders that they could lose this vital trade link.⁶¹ This apprehension resulted in assistance from Shetland merchants and officials in the form of short term credits. For example, David Murray of Clarden (Commissioner of the Customs of Shetland), lent four sums of money ranging from 150 to 350 Imperial dollars to Hamburg merchants between 1676 and 1682.⁶² These were credited in either July or August and were to be repaid in October or November during the same year after the merchants sold their exports at Hamburg. Similar credits were granted by Captain Andrew Dick, to Bremen trader Frederick Detjen and Hamburg merchants Just Vanverbeke and Peter Coup in 1681.⁶³ The bond referring to the latter transaction stated that the 200 Imperial dollars owed were in 'contentione and satisfacione of the duty of the goods imported and exported (...) in Zetland' suggesting that custom payments were suspended or disbursed until the traders had made a profit.⁶⁴ Initially the credits were to be repaid in either Edinburgh or London.⁶⁵ However, the loans granted by Dick in 1681 and by Clarden in 1682 were to be reimbursed in Hamburg, signifying that they obviously maintained active financial contacts within the city.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ StAB, *Hitlandfahrer*, 2-R.11.kk, Merchants Trading with Shetland to Bremen Senate, Bremen, 26 October 1671; 2-R.11.kk, Memorial, 1671.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 180–181. According to Shaw the estimated sum paid by German merchants in 1657 was £800. Between 1669 and 1673 the annual sum paid was over £1,600 and rising to £2,750 in 1681.

⁶² NAS, Register of Deeds, RD3/42, 138, Bond, Bartle Hinsche/Clarden, (Walls?), 12 July 1676; RD4/47, 322–3, Bond, Claus Coster/Clarden, Scalloway, 30 July 1677; RD4/47, 841, Bond, Joachim Hinsche/ Clarden, (Walls?), 26 July 1680; NAS, RD3/55, 183–184, Bond, Catherine Coster/Clarden, Scalloway, 5 August 1682.

⁶³ NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/58, 334–335, Bond, Just Vanverbeke/Andrew Dick, Whalsey, 9 July 1681; NAS, RD3/52, 184, Bond, Frederick Detjen/Dick, Uyeasound, 12 August 1681.

⁶⁴ NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/58, 334–335, Bond, Vanverbeke/Dick, Whalsey, 9 July 1681.

⁶⁵ NAS, Register of Deeds, RD4/47, 322–323, Bond, Claus Coster/Clarden, Scalloway, 26 July 1677; RD4/47, 841, Bond, Joachim Hinsche/Clarden, (Walls?), 26 July 1677.

⁶⁶ NAS, Register of Deeds, RD3/52, 184, Bond, Frederick Detjen/Dick, Uyeasound, 12 August 1681; RD3/55, 183–4, Bond, Catherine Coster/Clarden, Scalloway, 5 August 1682.

It is possible that Robert Jolly, who had settled in Hamburg by this period, was involved in Clarden's and Dick's transactions. From 1685 he and his brother Alexander, who was then skipper of the ship *Alison* of Prestonpans, maintained trade links with Shetland. In the summer of 1685 Alexander Jolly was at Burravoe in Yell from where he traded with Andrew Bruce of Muness and Andrew Mowat of Garth, exchanging tobacco and other commodities for fish.⁶⁷ Members of the Jolly family had previously purchased tobacco from Richard Glover and Sarah Broadbent, merchants and tobacconists in London. Moreover, Broadbent had been a part owner of Alexander Jolly's first ship, the *James and Margaret*, and the skipper frequently resided with her when in London.⁶⁸ Trade links with Broadbent continued throughout the 1680s and it is probable that tobacco sold at Shetland had been bought from her.⁶⁹ However, Robert Jolly also established links with Glasgow merchants who traded in this commodity.⁷⁰ Like the aforementioned Hamburg merchants Alexander Jolly became indebted to Clarden for fish exports although his credit of 23 Imperial dollars was considerably smaller.⁷¹ This could signify that Jolly considered this voyage as an initial test run in which he exported few commodities. Jolly's credit was to be reimbursed in August the following year to either Clarden or Andrew Mowat in Shetland, revealing that he was expected to return.⁷² Alexander Jolly sailed twice to Burravoe in 1686 and again the following year where he traded goods with a merchant called Stewart and once more with Andrew Bruce of Muness.⁷³ Robert

⁶⁷ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Muness to Alexander Jolly, without place, 2 September 1685.

⁶⁸ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Contract, 7 December 1672; RH15/140, George Jolly to Alexander Jolly (four letters 1676–1680); RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Isobel Touch, 17 February 1688.

⁶⁹ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, 10 December 1677; RH15/140, George Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Prestonpans, 3 April 1680.

⁷⁰ See below. For the involvement of Glasgow merchants in the tobacco trade see T.M. Devine, 'The Golden Age of Tobacco', in T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, *Glasgow*, (2 vols., Manchester/New York, 1995), vol. 1, 140.

⁷¹ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Bond, Alexander Jolly/Clarden, Burravoe, 3 July 1685.

⁷² Ibid. Smith states that only two Hamburg merchants seem to have visited Shetland in 1683–4 (based on records of bonds granted to German merchants for butter & oil duty). Smith, *Shetland*, 12. This could signify that the Jollys entered the market during a time of decreased competition. However, the same records signify that a comparatively high number of nine Bremen merchants were active in Shetland during these years. The temporary increase of Bremen merchants during this period has yet to be explained.

⁷³ 'Stewart' was probably Laurence Stewart of Bigtoun. See Grant, *The County Families*, 295; NAS, Jolly Family, RH15/140, Stewart to Alexander Jolly, without place, 12 August 1686; RH15/140, Bruce to Stephen Touch junior, Ulsta, 18 November 1687.

Jolly became involved in their commodity exchanges.⁷⁴ Furthermore, Alexander Jolly transported goods on behalf of the Hamburg merchant Adolph Westermann (or his relative), the fees of which Robert Jolly kept on behalf of his brother.⁷⁵ Robert Jolly also received freight costs from William Bruce suggesting that the latter was present in the region or else financially connected to him.⁷⁶ Importantly, the Shetland network of Robert and Alexander Jolly also operated in mainland Scotland. Muness and his brother Gilbert exchanged commodities with Alexander Jolly's brother-in-law, the skipper Stephen Touch junior. Alexander Jolly became involved in their transactions when in Burravoe.⁷⁷

Hamburg's and Bremen's trade with Shetland became a hazardous venture during the Nine Years' War (1688–1697) in which a number of Hamburg vessels were lost to French privateers off the islands.⁷⁸ Sweden's and Denmark's neutrality in the conflict saw Hamburg skippers turn to Altona and Glückstadt to obtain Danish flags of convenience.⁷⁹ Robert Jolly followed their example. In 1693 the merchant sent the ship *Resolution* of Altona commanded by the Scottish captain James Bruce with a Royal Danish pass to Shetland.⁸⁰ Bruce was almost certainly a relative of Jolly's acquaintance Andrew Bruce of Muness.⁸¹ Despite sailing under a Danish flag Bruce was attacked by a French privateer on his voyage to Shetland and was forced to pay a ransom of 1,000 Imperial dollars. Worse, the *Resolution* sank on its return journey from the Shetland Isles.⁸² Jolly had obtained insurance for the vessel at Bremen but experienced difficulties

⁷⁴ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, September 1687.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Probably William Bruce of Urie. See Grant, *The County Families*, 26; NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, September 1687.

⁷⁷ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Muness to Stephen Touch junior, Ulsta, 18 November 1687.

⁷⁸ Smith, *Shetland*, 38–39.

⁷⁹ Claus Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt des Herzogtums Bremen zur Schwedenzeit (1645–1712)* (Stade, 1970), 35.

⁸⁰ StAB, Hitlandfahrer, 2-R.11.kk., Robert Jolly to Bremen Senate, without date/place; Friedland, 'Hanseatic Merchants', 92. A vessel from Altona, also called *Resolution*, had sailed between Altona and Leith or Kirkcaldy respectively in 1690 and 1691 under the skipper Dirk Jansen. See NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/15/44, Leith, 29 December 1690; E72/9/32, Fife, 13 February 1691; E72/15/44, Leith, 7 July 1691; E72/15/48, Leith, 2 September 1691.

⁸¹ Andrew Bruce had a brother called James. This was possibly the same man. Grant, *The County Families*, 23.

⁸² StAB, Hitlandfahrer, 2-R.11.kk., Robert Jolly to Bremen Senate, without date/place.

in retrieving his money despite being assisted by the Williamite resident at Hamburg, Sir Paul Rycaut.⁸³

After 1692 Hamburg and Bremen skippers relocated to Swedish Stade in search of alternative protection. This was as the Danish king attempted to prevent them from landing their goods at Hamburg.⁸⁴ Some merchants thus went to Stade to receive Swedish sea passes. However, it was only during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) that sailing under a Swedish flag became safer than under an Imperial one. A number of Hamburg and Bremen skippers became citizens of Stade from 1703, which was a precondition for receiving a Swedish sea pass.⁸⁵ Between March 1704 and July 1707 a total of 26 ships left the port for Shetland.⁸⁶

Scottish merchants continued to involve themselves in the Shetland trade during this period. By 1701 Robert Jolly had returned to Hamburg from his expedition to Darien. In January that year he proposed the foundation of a Scottish company trading with Shetland to his business partner, Alexander Pyper, an Edinburgh based trader.⁸⁷ The subsequent move of Hamburg traders to Stade and their continued independent activity in Shetland however reveals that Jolly's project did not come to fruition. Nevertheless, this was not the end of Scottish engagement in the Shetland-German trade. In 1705 the Lerwick merchant Arthur Nicolson corresponded with Charles Mitchell of Uresland (a writer in Edinburgh), for whom he was to sort out problems which had occurred when the Bremen merchant Joachim Sauke protested against two bills Mitchell had drawn on him on behalf of his brother James Mitchell of Girlesta (Jolly's former business partner).⁸⁸ According to Mitchell, Bremen and Hamburg's trade with Shetland had become endangered as German merchants had not bought the expected quantity of butter and oil in the previous year. The Chamberlain of Orkney and Shetland, George Robertson of Newbigging, was thus resolved to establish a trade link with mainland Scotland (Leith)

⁸³ Ibid.; StAB, Wittheitsprotokoll 1696–1698, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.19, 127, 23 January 1697.

⁸⁴ Swedish Stade had long been used as a flag of convenience port. See A.D.M. Forte, E.M. Furgol and Steve Murdoch, 'The *Burgh of Stade* and the Maryland Court of Admiralty of 1672', *Forum Navale*, no. 60 (2004), 94–112.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 39–41.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 166–193. Based on Tiedemann's analysis of sea passes issued by the city of Stade.

⁸⁷ NAS, Pyper Papers, RH15/101/15, Robert Jolly to Alexander Pyper, Hamburg, 10 January 1701; T.C. Smout, 'An Old Scheme for Shetland: Opposition to the Hansa', *Shetland News*, 11 November 1958; Smith, *Shetland*, 19.

⁸⁸ NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/13, Charles Mitchell to Arthur Nicolson, Edinburgh, 2 January 1705.

instead. Nicolson was to persuade Hamburg merchants to buy the goods on their return to the islands in order to prevent this.⁸⁹

On 1 May 1707 the parliamentary Union between Scotland and England came into effect.⁹⁰ Commercially, the articles of the union treaty offered Scottish merchants official access to the English domestic and colonial markets (article IV) and classified Scottish-owned vessels as British ships (article V). In addition, the English custom and taxation system was applied to Scotland including duties on imports of foreign salt (articles VI, VIII).⁹¹ Scholars agree that the short-term impact of the conditions imposed on the Scottish economy was complex and entailed advantages as well as disadvantages.⁹² Furthermore, some concede that a sound evaluation of the influence of the Union is a difficult undertaking and not in all cases possible due to the absence of reliable sources.⁹³ As noted above, the Scottish and German documentary evidence for the first two decades after the Union does not allow for a comprehensive analysis of the immediate impact of the treaty on Scottish trade relations with the region. However, some historians have claimed that this political event influenced commercial links between Scotland and Germany, and most specifically with Shetland.

According to contemporary opinion, increased duties introduced by the Treaty of Union discouraged German merchants from trading in the islands.⁹⁴ However, Hance D. Smith argues that the real reason for the abandonment of trade shortly after 1707 'was rooted in the assertion of the navigation laws which forbade the import of foreign salt in

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ For the latest research on the causes of the Anglo-Scottish Union see A.I. Macinnes, *Empire and Union: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007); Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006).

⁹¹ RPS, Act Ratifying and Approving the Treaty of Union of the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, 16 January 1707. However, trade with the East Indies remained a monopoly of the London based merging East India Companies. Macinnes, *Empire and Union*, 317.

⁹² T.M. Devine, 'The Modern Economy: Scotland and the Act of Union', in T.M. Devine, Clive Howard Lee, G.C. Peden (eds.), *The Transformation of Scotland: the Economy since 1700* (Edinburgh, 2005), 22; A.I. Macinnes, *Empire and Union*, 317–319; Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707–1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (Manchester, 2000), 53–58.

⁹³ Devine, 'The Modern Economy', 23; Whatley, *Scottish Society*, 52.

⁹⁴ NAS, Earls of Morton Papers, RH4/137, George Robertson to the Earl of Morton, Lerwick, 21 June 1709; *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1709*, 195–196, Representation by the Justices of Peace in Shetland to the Edinburgh Custom Commissioners, 26 October 1708. According to Rössner non-British denizens were liable to an additional petty custom fee on imports. Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 120.

foreign bottoms.⁹⁵ Shaw agrees that it was the application of the English Navigation Acts which led to the cessation of the German mercantile activity within the islands.⁹⁶ Both scholars also refer to the impact of the War of the Spanish Succession and state that the imposition of higher duties and the discouragement of foreign merchants from trade had been on-going since the 1660s.⁹⁷ While both scholars are largely correct in their observations, the situation of Bremen and Hamburg traders after 1707 requires some further clarification.

In 1707 and 1708 no fewer than fifteen skippers acquired Swedish passes at Stade to Shetland on behalf of the Bremen and Hamburg merchants Hermann Bardewisch, Johan Otto Bossow, Joachim and Nicolaus Sauke and Daniel Thomsen in order to avoid French privateers.⁹⁸ However, from the following year onwards the acquisition of these certificates was no longer an option for most of these traders due to obstructions by Portuguese authorities who expressed doubts over the real origin of 'Swedish' vessels calling at their ports. This resulted in the Swedish government to demand more scrutiny from the Stade officials when issuing sea passes.⁹⁹ Subsequently there was a drastic decline in Swedish passes for Bremen and Hamburg merchants, including those trading with Shetland. Accordingly, only two of these certificates appear to have been granted to skippers and merchants travelling to the islands in the following years. These were given to the Bremen trader Helmke Hartmann (who must have escaped the scrutiny of the authorities) and to a man called H. Pragemann who cannot be proven to have previously traded with Shetland.¹⁰⁰ Another Hamburg trader, John du Burgh, and several of his (unnamed) counterparts registered their ship the *St Peter* at 'Schleswig in Holstein'.¹⁰¹ In 1709 they sent a petition to the British monarch to allow them to purchase

⁹⁵ Smith, *Shetland*, 40. Smith bases this on a report by the treasurer Sidney Godolphin to Queen Anne.

⁹⁶ Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 181; Smith, *Shetland*, 38–39.

⁹⁷ Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles*, 180–181.

⁹⁸ Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 189–203. Nine ships left Stade for Shetland in 1707 and six ships in 1708.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44–45.

¹⁰⁰ NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/19, Account, Arthur Nicolson, 22 September 1709; Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 208–209. It is possible that Pragemann was a genuine resident of Stade attempting to exploit the difficulties of the established merchants.

¹⁰¹ *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1709*, 195, Report Sidney Godolphin to Queen Anne, 1 June 1709. The skipper of the *St Peter*, Claus Ehlers, had acquired two sea passes at Stade in 1708 one of which had been issued for a journey to Scotland and Ireland. Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 204–205.

fish in Shetland which they were to salt and cask on board their vessel thus circumnavigating both duties on salt imports and the Navigation Laws.¹⁰² The overall tone of the British response stated that giving permission to the Hamburgers to trade would discourage the development of the national fishery.¹⁰³ It appears however that most of the regular Bremen and Hamburg traders returned to their cities after 1708 anyway with Shetland merchants taking over the marketing of their commodities over the next few years.¹⁰⁴ One of the Germans, Johann Otto Bossow, complained in 1712 to George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney and Lord of Shetland, that he had to abandon the Shetland trade due to Shetland traders taking up the commercial exchange with England.¹⁰⁵ Bossow asked to be allowed to resume his trade with Hillswick, referring to the trusted business links he had established with Shetland merchants and the Earl's brother, Robert Hamilton, whom Bossow styled as his acquaintance. Furthermore, Bossow offered his expertise as representative in Shetland and in Hamburg as he had heard that trade with England was not going well due to the inexperience of the Shetland factors.¹⁰⁶ Bossow was thus obviously keen to continue his trade links with Shetland despite the increased duties and the danger posed by the war at sea to Hamburg ships. This not only signifies the profitability of this trade but also indicates Bossow's difficulties in replacing his commercial links with Shetland caused by the disruption to his Portuguese trade due to the denial of Swedish sea passes. At the same time the petition by Shetland's Justices of Peace, including Thomas Gifford, William Henderson, William Dick and Andrew Bruce reveals that at least continue part of Shetland's society sought to assist the German merchants and to maintain the old trade pattern, not least to continue the cultural and financial connections across the German Sea.¹⁰⁷ For a cultural example, the Shetland merchant Magnus Henderson of Gardie (son-in-law

¹⁰² *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1709*, 152, Petition, John du Burgh, 30 April 1709.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 195, Report, Sidney Godolphin to Queen Anne, 1 June 1709; For the Act see *RPS*, Act for Advancing the Fishing Trade, 21 September 1705.

¹⁰⁴ The removal of the Germans and the reallocation of their role is deduced from NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/19, Account, Arthur Nicolson, 22 September 1709. Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 51, 176–177, 184–185, 192–193, 200–201.

¹⁰⁵ Orkney Archives, Earldom of Orkney (Morton), D38/2544, Johann Otto Bossow to Hamilton, Hamburg, 4/5 October 1712 (Two letters with identical content but different wording).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1709*, 195–196, Representation by the Justices of Peace in Shetland to the Edinburgh Custom Commissioners, 26 October 1708.

to James Mitchell of Girsta), had received a mercantile education in Hamburg.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore the Hamburg merchant Joachim Sauke remained involved in the financial transactions of some of the Shetland traders long after 1710 while interethnic factoring on both sides of the German trade continued well into the 1720s.¹⁰⁹ Thus, although the Anglo-Scottish Union opened the English market to Scottish merchants, Bremen and especially Hamburg remained Shetland's main market for fish exports at least until the middle of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁰

Scottish Fish Exports: Herring

Apart from whitefish, herring also played a significant role as an export commodity from Shetland to Bremen and Hamburg. For example, one of the three ships which returned from the islands to Bremen in 1664 was almost exclusively freighted with herring.¹¹¹ The Scottish herring fishery was not only situated around Shetland but also around the Scottish mainland, predominantly around the Clyde and Forth.¹¹² Boats set out from the Forth to fish near Shetland between June and July before returning to the fishing grounds of the Forth in August and early September.¹¹³ Anstruther and Crail in Fife, Dunbar in East Lothian and Greenock on the Clyde were centres where herring was salted and packed for export.¹¹⁴ However, Dutch merchants dominated the continental trade despite the endeavours of the Scots. They sustained a technologically more advanced

¹⁰⁸ Brian Smith, 'Lairds' and 'Improvement in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Shetland', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Lairds and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1978), 14.

¹⁰⁹ NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/33, Gifford of Busta vs. Stewart of Bigtoun, Lerwick, 13 September 1715. Hermann Bardewisch acted as factor for Charles Mitchell in Bremen in the 1720s although it is not entirely clear if his tasks related to trade with Shetland or commercial exchange with the Scottish mainland. See NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/18/13, Charles Mitchell to Hermann Bardewisch, without place, 1716; RH15/93/18/12, Hermann Bardewisch to Charles Mitchell, Kinghorn, 4 March 1723; RH15/93/18/14, Account Hermann Bardewisch to Charles Mitchell, 1723; RH15/93/13, Account Hermann Bardewisch to Charles Mitchell, 5 August 1723. Bardewisch remitted money to Mitchell via the Bremen merchants George and Martin Berchem at Amsterdam and met the Edinburgh merchant at least once in person during a journey to the Scottish mainland.

¹¹⁰ Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 120–121.

¹¹¹ StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20-AB-D10, Elsfleth, 24 July 1664.

¹¹² James R. Coull, *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: A Historical Geography* (Edinburgh, 1996), 60–62.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 67–68.

¹¹⁴ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 6.

fishing fleet gutting, salting and packing their catches on board their boats (known as busses).¹¹⁵ Dutch fishing commenced in June in Shetland waters from where the fleet worked its way southwards fishing off the Scottish and English coast off Dunbar and Yorkshire in August and off coast of Yarmouth between September and November. Following this pattern the Dutch busses made use of three different herring seasons featuring different populations of fish.¹¹⁶ Bremen and Hamburg provided the most important outlets for Dutch herring and therefore Scottish herring faced difficult market conditions within the wider Elbe-Weser region.¹¹⁷ This was especially the case in Hamburg where the herring trade was monopolised by the Scandic company (*Schonenfahrrergesellschaft*).¹¹⁸ The latter had an agreement with the port of Enkhuizen, the largest base of the Dutch herring fleet, that herring imported to Hamburg was to be exclusively delivered to the company. With the support of the senate, the company maintained close quality checks over herring re-exported inland into the Empire making its members desired business partners without serious competition. Membership of the company was only open to Hamburg citizens, excluding all foreigners from trade with Dutch herring.¹¹⁹ The strong position of Scandic merchants within the city and of the Dutch commodity meant that the vast majority of herring sold within the city derived from this destination.¹²⁰

Nevertheless, small amounts of herring were also sold by Hamburg merchants trading with Bergen and by the inhabitants of Helgoland (belonging to Holstein-Gottorp) who fished off Shetland 'from tyme out of mind'.¹²¹ Furthermore, some quantities arrived on the ships of Hamburg merchants returning from Shetland.¹²² The Hamburg fishery itself which had tried to emulate the Dutch had been forced out of the market by the

¹¹⁵ Richard W. Unger, 'Dutch Herring, Technology, and International Trade in the Seventeenth Century', *The Journal of Economic History*, 40/2 (1980), 256–262.

¹¹⁶ Fulton, *The Sovereignty*, 131–133; A.R. Michell, 'The European Fisheries in Early Modern History', in E.E. Rich (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (London/New York/Melbourne, 1977), vol. 5, 139.

¹¹⁷ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 140.

¹¹⁸ Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 164.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 164–166.

¹²⁰ Ernst Baasch, 'Zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Heringhandels', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. 12 (1906), 70. See also Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 164.

¹²¹ SRA, Anglica, VII, 542, Inhabitants of Helgoland to Duke of Holstein, without place/date; Baasch, 'Zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Heringshandels', 70.

¹²² StAH, Admiralitätskollegium, 371–2, F4, vols. 13–14, 1644–1646.

latter's competition during the late sixteenth century—although a limited number of vessels fished off Shetland.¹²³ In 1661 and 1662, Hamburg's representative, Vincent Garmers, sought licences for members of the Scandic Company to fish for herring in English seas in exchange for a duty recognising Charles II's sovereignty. Furthermore he asked for assurances of protection against the Dutch, revealing his ambition of reviving the city's fishery.¹²⁴ Shortly before Garmers pursued his endeavours the Scottish Parliament issued an act which encouraged the establishment of Scottish fishing companies which were granted the monopoly of fish exports and were solely to consist of Scottish partners (to be called councillors).¹²⁵ The act was also partially aimed against the German merchants in Shetland as it banned foreigners from curing fish onshore and from erecting booths for this purpose.¹²⁶ This was in line with further laws which ordered preferential treatment for the inhabitants of some Scottish towns and individual Scottish merchants over Hamburgers and other foreigners when fish was sold at Shetland. Furthermore, these Scots were allowed to fish from and between the islands of Shetland—a privilege taken away from the foreign merchants.¹²⁷ Owing to the dependency of Shetland's inhabitants on vital imports from German traders, the latter regulation was revoked following a petition from the Earl of Morton.¹²⁸

In light of these acts aimed at discouraging foreigners from the Shetland fish trade and at the establishment of a strong Scottish fishery, it is perhaps surprising that Hamburg and Scottish merchants jointly founded a fishing company in 1668 which was intended to come into existence the

¹²³ Michell, 'The European Fisheries', 155.

¹²⁴ TNA, SP82/10 fol. 83, Vincent Garmers to Joseph Williamson, Hamburg, 15 November 1661; SP82/10, fol. 95, Vincent Garmers to Joseph Williamson, Hamburg, 12 February 1662; SP82/10, fol. 98, Vincent Garmers to Joseph Williamson, Hamburg, 20 February/2 March 1662; SP82/10, fol. 111, Vincent Garmers to Williamson, Hamburg, 25 April 1662; SP82/10, fol. 117, Vincent Garmers to Joseph Williamson, Hamburg, 8 May 1662.

¹²⁵ *RPS*, Act for Fishing and Erecting of Companies for Promoting the Same, Edinburgh, 12 June 1661; Fulton, *The Sovereignty*, 444–445.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *RPCS*, *Third Series*, 1662, 182, Supplication by the Earl of Morton, 4 March 1662; *RPS*, Act for Gideon Murray, Edinburgh, 15 March 1661; *RPS*, Act in favour of the Burghs of Crails and Kilrenny, Edinburgh, 22 March 1661; *RPS*, Act in favour of Anstruther Easter and Pittenweem, Edinburgh, 22 March 1661; *RPS*, Act for Robert Rollo and John Wilson, Edinburgh, 3 April 1661; Smith, *Shetland*, 23.

¹²⁸ *RPCS*, *Third Series*, 1662, 182, Supplication by the Earl of Morton, 4 March 1662; Smith, *Shetland*, 39.

following year.¹²⁹ The establishment of this enterprise made perfect economic sense—at least in theory. The partners were the Scots James Tailfer (Edinburgh) and his son, Duncan Forbes (Inverness) and John Davidson (Portree) and the Hamburgers Hans Backhaus, Francis Boyton, Henry Colmus and Jasper Wagenfeld. They were to equally own one of seven parts of three ships called the *Green Yager*, the *Milk Maid* and the *Falcone* (one part being shared by James Tailfer and his son). In order to equip the vessels and to initiate their commerce they set up a stock of £60,000 Scots. The company was to be renewed automatically each year and accounts to be settled every January in Edinburgh when gains and losses were to be split equally.¹³⁰ The allocation of tasks between the partners—who were united in their goal of setting up a substantial competition to the Dutch fishery—is easily apparent. The Hamburg merchants (almost certainly members of the Scandic Company) had to be responsible for selling the fish in their city and its hinterland whereas the Scottish traders were allowed to fish in Scottish waters, negating the need for the Hamburgers to apply for a licence. The company was almost certainly initiated by James Tailfer senior who first established contact with the city in 1649 and returned in 1653 as factor on behalf of the Edinburgh merchant John Clerk.¹³¹ His contacts with Hamburg continued throughout the 1660s.¹³² Tailfer's links must have resulted in close commercial contacts and a trusted relationship with the Hamburg merchants, not least as he vouched that Backhaus, Boyton and Colmus (who did not sign the contract in person) would provide their share of the company's stock.¹³³ Moreover, Tailfer certainly maintained a link with either the Adventurer John Banks, the Scot John Beck or the German merchant Jacob Delbow as they were the joint pre-owners of the ship the *Milk Maid* revealing another example of Anglo-

¹²⁹ NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/26, 100–101 and RD4/26, 756–758, Bond, Tailfer/Tailfer/Forbes/Davidson/Wagenfeld, 20 March 1668. (Two documents of same content but slightly different wording.)

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1642–1655, 184, Agreement, James Tailfer/Burgh Committee, 3 January 1649; NAS, Clerk Papers, GD18/2524/2, James Tailfer to John Clerk, Hamburg, 30 August 1653. In 1649 Tailfer and artisan Thomas Haliday were sent to the city by the officials of Edinburgh. Haliday was to inspect Hamburg's churches and to inform himself of their roofing technique so that he would be able to furnish the Tron church with a new roof on his return. Tailfer was to accompany him and to purchase the copper necessary for the project.

¹³² NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/15/2, Leith, 12 May and 14 September 1666; E72/15/5, Leith, 25 May 1667.

¹³³ NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/26, 100–101 and RD4/26, 756–758, Bond, Tailfer/Tailfer/Forbes/Davidson/Wagenfeld, 20 March 1668.

Scottish-German cooperation.¹³⁴ Tailfer also traded with Bremen and maintained a contact with the Bremen skipper Helmke Detjen, a relative to Hermann and Heinrich Detjen.¹³⁵ It is thus probable that he had also approached Bremen merchants to realise his scheme as their city provided an important market for herring similar to Hamburg. There is as yet no further evidence on the duration and success of the Scottish-Hamburg fishing company. Tailfer senior died a few years after its establishment and it is possible that the enterprise then ceased to exist. His son continued to trade with Hamburg in the 1670s using the Hamburg merchants Joost Litterbroodt and John Beck—almost certainly the same person as the former Scottish owner of the *Milk Maid*—as factor.¹³⁶ However, Tailfer had to pursue the latter for debts owed to him and it is unclear if he continued his commercial contacts with the city after 1676.¹³⁷ The establishment of the company coincided with a general increased interest from Hamburg merchants in the Scottish offshore fisheries.

From 1673 we can trace individual Scottish merchants who ventured into the herring trade with Bremen and Hamburg at a time when Dutch supplies decreased due to the Third Anglo Dutch War (1672–1774) and (to a greater extent) by the continued Dutch war with France after 1674.¹³⁸ For example, in December 1673, the Scot Gilbert Spence (then resident in Bremen) received 53 lasts of herring from the Ostend skipper Johan van Dam who arrived on the Weser from Glasgow.¹³⁹ His business associate for this transaction had been John Spreull who had received commodities from Bremen while living in Bo'ness earlier the same year.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁴ TNA, SP82/10, fol. 263, Swann to Arlington, Hamburg, 26 September/6 October 1665.

¹³⁵ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/15/5, Leith, 24 September 1667; StAO, Weserzoll-register, Best.20-AB-D10, Elsflēth, 29 September 1664. Tailfer acted as cautioner on Detjen's behalf when the latter was to appear at the Admiralty Court in 1667. NAS, Register of Deeds, RD3/33, 721–723, Discharge, James Tailfer/Hutchinson, 18 July 1673.

¹³⁶ NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC 7/4, Tailfer vs. Beyk and Litterbroodt, Edinburgh, 4 July 1676.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ J.I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford, 1990), 306; Unger, 'Dutch Herring', 279.

¹³⁹ Schwebel, *Salz*, 64. Spence does not seem to have received another cargo from Glasgow. Another venture to the West was however made in 1675 when Spence received leather, meat and butter from Dublin to where he exported 540 clap boards in return.

¹⁴⁰ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/6, Bo'ness, 23 May, 24 July and 9 August 1673. The commodities consisted of soap, oil, iron and aniseeds. Bo'ness was comparatively well connected with Glasgow through the Kilsyth road on which smaller goods could be transported on horseback. Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 15.

Spreull visited Bremen two years later.¹⁴¹ From there he continued to Hamburg where he anxiously awaited the arrival of a ship with the skipper and/or merchant Archibald Stewart carrying herring.¹⁴² Another consignment of inferior quality had been sold the previous week for a good price of 70 Imperial dollars making Spreull believe a sizeable profit was imminent. He thus asked the Scottish factor at Rotterdam, Andrew Russell, to hasten and facilitate Stewart's departure by sending a pilot directed to a man called James Gilchrist at the Dutch port of Brielle.¹⁴³ Spreull stated that of any cargo only herring was likely to sell well in the city.¹⁴⁴ One of Spreull's contacts in Hamburg was the local merchant Mr Arklemann (possibly a member of the Scandic Company) for whom Spreull acted as factor in Glasgow the following year.¹⁴⁵ Further connections between the Clyde and Hamburg were attempted when the Glasgow merchant John Barns freighted a ship with herring to the city in 1677 although the ship never made it to Hamburg due to various setbacks.¹⁴⁶ The fact that Barns dispatched his cargo to Hamburg nonetheless signifies that he had identified the city as a suitable market. Furthermore, the Englishman William Willet sold Scottish herring on behalf of Alexander and Robert Jolly at Bremen in 1679.¹⁴⁷ However, Dutch herring merchants continued to provide an overbearing competition.

For example, in July 1684 Robert Jolly observed that it was too late for the catch of the Lewis fishery to fetch a reasonable price at the Hamburg market as the first (presumably Dutch) herring had already been sold, decreasing the demand for the product.¹⁴⁸ Timing issues also negatively affected the Dunbar merchant Robert Kellie who lamented that his cargo

¹⁴¹ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/199/1, Spreull to Russell, Bremen, 8 December 1675.

¹⁴² NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/199/2, Spreull to Russell, Hamburg, 10 December 1675; RH15/106/199/4, Spreull to Russell, Hamburg, 16 December 1675.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* It is not clear why the ship departed from the Dutch Republic as Stewart's freight consisted of Scottish commodities.

¹⁴⁴ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/199/3, Spreull to Russell, Hamburg, 13 December 1675.

¹⁴⁵ NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC7/6, Matthew Cumming snr. et al., Merchants of Glasgow vs. William Boick, Merchant of Glasgow, Edinburgh, 1 April 1684.

¹⁴⁶ NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC7/4, John Barns, Merchant of Glasgow vs. Arthur White, Mariner of Greenock, Edinburgh, 5 June 1677.

¹⁴⁷ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, William Willet to Alexander Jolly, 22 June 1679.

¹⁴⁸ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 18 July 1684. Jolly stated that the first herring were sold for 250s. per last whereas the present price was almost half between 130 and 140s. per last.

of herring sent to Hamburg in 1687 had sold for a poor price as it had arrived simultaneously with 300 lasts of Dutch herring.¹⁴⁹

Conditions improved during the 1690s when the Dutch fishery was increasingly disturbed by French privateers during the Nine Years' War. At the same time, Scottish herring could no longer officially be sold on the French market, enhancing exports into the Baltic and presumably reinforcing the search for alternative outlets.¹⁵⁰ In 1702 Robert Jolly reported a low supply of herring at Hamburg as the Dutch had few busses at sea due to the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession. Therefore he was 'daily importuned by the herring mongers to write to my friends in Scotland to send hither the first herrings'.¹⁵¹ Although he admitted that the market had often been disappointing for Scottish herring merchants he was convinced that there had never been a better opportunity to make a profit with this commodity at Hamburg. This was especially so as the catches were supposed to be more plentiful during this season as the herring schools had not been broken by the Dutch busses.¹⁵²

These favourable conditions were to improve further after the Anglo-Scottish Union. In 1711 Great Britain and Hamburg agreed a contract regarding the herring trade. This treaty had been initiated by the British resident John Wich who exploited a situation in which Hamburg officials and merchants sought to break the monopoly of the trade of the Scandic Company with Dutch herring—mainly to enforce free access of Bergen fish.¹⁵³ The treaty granted British merchants access to the Hamburg market on equal terms to the Dutch.¹⁵⁴ Importantly, it further determined that British herring had to be sold either by the merchants themselves or by factors who had to be Hamburg citizens or Merchant Adventurers and had to implement stringent quality checks on the commodity.¹⁵⁵ This treaty (renewed in 1719) stimulated the intake of Scottish herring into the city not only from Shetland merchants but also from traders

¹⁴⁹ St Andrews University Library, Special Collections, Watson Papers, MS 38527/3b/10/3, Robert Kellie to Andrew Watson, Dunbar, 2 December 1687.

¹⁵⁰ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 222–223.

¹⁵¹ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Baird, Hamburg, 28 July 1702.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Baasch, 'Zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Heringshandels', 77–82; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 170.

¹⁵⁴ NLS, 1.22 (6), Copy of the Agreement concerning the Herring Trade; Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 123.

¹⁵⁵ NLS, 1.22 (96), Copy of the Agreement Concerning the Herring Trade.

operating from the Scottish mainland.¹⁵⁶ In the 1710s and 1720s a group of Inverness merchants including John Steuart, Alexander Macintosh and Hugh Monro engaged in the herring trade with Hamburg initially using the Englishman and Adventurer Bartholomew Bludworth as their factor.¹⁵⁷ However, the Dutch still maintained a strong competition. In the winter of 1715/16 Bludworth reported that the Hamburg market had a glut of Dutch herring. This provoked him to complain about inferior British fishing and curing techniques as well as the inexperience of particular Scottish supercargoes who had mishandled earlier sales of fish in the city.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Scottish merchants like James Macintosh—cousin of Alexander Macintosh—remained active in the city in similar capacities to those they maintained before, and with similar networks in place.¹⁵⁹ To exemplify this point, part of the profits obtained by Alexander Macintosh were remitted to the former Hamburg Adventurer Nathaniel Cambridge in London whereas Steuart kept an account with the Scottish merchant Alexander Andrew in Rotterdam.¹⁶⁰ Both Macintosh and Steuart were connected to Alexander Arbuthnott in Edinburgh who received a share of their money, while funds could also be sent through this network in the opposite direction.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 89. Baasch has estimated that in 1717 one sixth of the imported herring originated from Scotland although it is unclear if this assessment included Shetland herring. Baasch, 'Zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Heringshandels', 93. In 1731 a similar contract was closed between Great Britain and the city of Bremen. The agreement stipulated that herring (and other types of fish) could be freely sold by their English and Scottish owners. StAB, 2-Ss.2.b.H.1.c, Contract, 17 October 1731.

¹⁵⁷ NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/16/23, Various Letters between Bartholomew Bludworth and Alexander Macintosh, 1 November 1715–1 April 1718 and Alexander Macintosh; William Mackay (ed.), *The Letter-Book of Bailie John Steuart of Inverness 1715–1752* (Edinburgh, 1915), 25, 27, 34, 36, Various Letters, John Steuart to Bludworth, 19 September–13 October 1716; Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 123. Rössner states that Bludworth was a Scot. However, Bludworth's will signifies that he was in fact English. TNA, prob/11/565/466, Will, Bartholomew Bludworth, Hamburg, 4 August 1718.

¹⁵⁸ NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/6/33/2, Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 1, 29 November 1715 and 10 December 1716; Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 123–124. As Rössner points out these difficult conditions curiously occurred at the same time when Scottish merchants temporarily became the most important herring suppliers of the Baltic region.

¹⁵⁹ NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/16/23, Alexander Macintosh to Bludworth, 24 September 1716.

¹⁶⁰ NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/6/23, Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 3 April 1716; Mackay (ed.), *The Letter-Book*, 25–26, Bludworth to John Steuart, 19 September 1716.

¹⁶¹ NAS, Warrant of Bught, GD23/6/23, Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 3 April 1716 and Bartholomew Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 30 July 1717; Mackay (ed.), *The Letter-Book*, 253–254, Robert Barclay to John Steuart, 8 April 1726.

John Steuart also briefly employed Robert Barclay as a factor when he travelled to Hamburg accompanied by his relative David Barclay in 1715.¹⁶² Robert Barclay remained in Hamburg at least until 1732 where he joined the company of Merchant Adventurers.¹⁶³ During this time he also acted as representative for the Shetland merchants Thomas Gifford of Busta, Magnus Henderson of Gardie, Arthur Nicolson of Bullister and Lochend and James Mitchell of Girlsta. These links necessitated intensive correspondence between Barclay and Charles Mitchell, who remained involved in the commercial exchange of these traders and several other Shetland merchants including James Craigie and Charles Neven of Windhouse.¹⁶⁴ Barclay thus acted as the hinge-pin for a large part of the Scottish fish trade in Hamburg, but also organised imports of hemp commissioned by Charles Mitchell and some of his 'friends' involved in a ropery at Leith.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the Scot maintained links with the Glasgow merchants Adam and John Hay who engaged in the tobacco trade with Hamburg.¹⁶⁶

It is apparent therefore, that despite the lack of records which formed the core of Rössner's study of Scottish-German trade in the mid-eighteenth century, a comparison of the composition of commercial networks through the movement of people in the two decades after Union is certainly suggestive of commercial contacts comparable to those preceding Union and conducted by individuals like Jolly and Grison.

Scottish Exports: Salt

The preservation of Scottish and other fish imports required a continuous and sufficient supply of salt. Merchants dealing with whitefish or

¹⁶² Mackay (ed.), *The Letter-Book*, 45. John Steuart to David Barclay, 22 June 1717. Bludworth mentions the arrival of a man called Barclay in 1715 from Danzig. NAS, Warrand of Bught, GD23/16/23, Bludworth to Alexander Macintosh, 29 November 1715.

¹⁶³ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 16 December 1726, 13 May 1728, 23 March 1730 and 10 January 1732.

¹⁶⁴ NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/17/20, Charles Mitchell to Robert Barclay, Edinburgh, 8 October 1720; RH15/93/17/21, Robert Barclay to Charles Mitchell, 13 September 1720; RH15/93/18/34, Charles Mitchell to Robert Barclay, Edinburgh, 20 March 1725. James Craigie had previously worked as skipper of the ship *William Bressay* which he had sailed to Hamburg in 1713 (and undoubtedly in other years) on behalf of Henderson, Nicolson and Mitchell. NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/16/34, Bill, James Craigie, 9 June 1713.

¹⁶⁵ NAS, Mitchell Papers, RH15/93/17/20, Charles Mitchell to Robert Barclay, Edinburgh, 8 October 1720.

¹⁶⁶ NAS, Court of Session Records, CS228/M.2.87/2, Peter Murdoch vs. Robert Barclay, 13 February 1731.

herring generally had a choice between two different types of this commodity. They could either purchase Iberian or French boy salt which was extracted by evaporating sea water by natural sunlight.¹⁶⁷ Alternatively, they could rely on the more expensive Lüneburg salt, which was evaporated from brine resulting in a higher quality than boy salt. Scottish salt was on the other hand produced in coal fired pans from evaporated sea water and was marked by a low degree of purity therefore making it unsuitable for curing purposes.¹⁶⁸ However, despite its limitations for the fishing industry Scottish salt became a highly successful export commodity on the northwest German market from the last quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁹ Bremen's surviving trade registers reveal that Scottish salt was the dominant type of salt sold within the city in 1617 and 1626 from where it was partially re-exported into the city's hinterland.¹⁷⁰ The commodity's success on the Bremen market can be explained by its comparatively cheap price and its usability in chemical processes and as animal food.¹⁷¹

Trade with Scottish salt necessitated close commercial relations between Bremen and Scottish merchants and producers. During the first half of the seventeenth century these were dominated by a small number of Bremen merchants who controlled the trade within their city. For example, the citizen Arend Meier established commercial links with a supplier in Scotland (almost certainly the Earl of Kincardine) by the 1620s. The latter was prepared to favour Bremen merchants over the Dutch (who posed a strong competition on the Scottish market) provided they paid with bullion.¹⁷² By the 1630s Kincardine and the city of Bremen established even closer commercial links when his factor, Archibald Mercer,

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 125.

¹⁶⁹ Schwebel, *Salz*, 39.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 36–37. According to Schwebel's analysis of Bremen's excise toll register of 1617 (the only one to survive in its entirety stating different origins of salt imports) 42.5 lasts, 1,300 tons and 47 bushels of Scottish salt out of a total amount of 121 lasts, 2,796 tons, 402 bushels, 432,75 and 358 pounds of salt were handled in the city as imports or re-exports by over 100 Bremen merchants. The entries of Bremen's convoy tax register of 1626 (the only one to survive in its entirety before the 1660s) demonstrate the continued strong position of Scottish salt, imports of which consisted of 185 lasts, 1 ton and 30 bushels out of a total of 484 lasts, 15 tons and 30 bushels of total salt imports. However, as with all statistics, these numbers have to be studied with care as the excise toll registers for example do not differentiate between imports and re-exports so that the same freight of Scottish salt might have been recorded twice when entering and upon leaving Bremen.

¹⁷¹ Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 126.

¹⁷² StAB, Salz, 2-Ss.2.b.S.2, Arend Meier to Bremen Senate, Bremen, 2 February and 12 May 1628; Schwebel, *Salz*, 44–45.

negotiated various prices for salt deliveries from Culross with the Bremen senate for a planned salt monopoly within the city (a project which failed miserably).¹⁷³ By the mid-1650s the position of factor for Scottish salt was in the hands of Arend Meier who facilitated business on behalf of Edward Bruce, the new Earl of Kincardine, and his brother, Alexander Bruce, and organised salt imports for fellow Bremen merchants.¹⁷⁴ He also worked closely with the Scottish skipper Magnus Wilson who settled in the city from 1651 and frequently returned from Culross with salt on behalf of Meier and other Bremen salt merchants.¹⁷⁵ Meier was certainly one of the most influential Bremen salt traders during this period, although he was not the only one to maintain direct trade links with Scotland. The Bremen merchant (and later senator) Arnold Havemann also directly imported Scottish salt, although we have yet to ascertain the exact providence of his purchases.¹⁷⁶

Bremen's involvement in the Scottish salt trade provoked severe complaints from Lüneburg's senate who suspected fraudulent behaviour by the city's merchants.¹⁷⁷ These resulted in measures which strictly regulated exports from and imports to the region. For example, from 1611 barrels filled with the Scottish product were to be marked with the symbol 'S.S.' whereas salt refined from French or Iberian boy salt ('Solt von Solte' or 'salt upon salt') was to be marked with the letters 'S.V.S'.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³ Schwebel, *Salz*, 44–48. It is unclear how long Mercer resided in the city but between 1639 and 1641 and between 1644 and 1645 he was listed as MP for the Royal Burgh of Culross signifying his presence in Scotland. Kai Drewes, 'The Scottish Civil War Refugee Archibald Mercer and His Family' (published online); Friedrich Lucae (ed.), *Der Chronist Friedrich Lucae. Ein Zeit- und Sittenbild* (Frankfurt, 1854), 200.

¹⁷⁴ NLS, Bruce Papers, Acc.12868, Arend Meier to Alexander Bruce, Bremen, 26 February 1656; Acc.12868, Arend Meier to the Earl of Kincardine, Bremen, 20 April 1656. Edward Bruce became earl in 1643. Due to his emotional instability his brother Alexander was considered the de facto head of the family. David Stevenson, 'Introduction: The Life of Sir Robert Moray', in David Stevenson (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Kincardine, 1657–73* (Ashgate, 2007), 18.

¹⁷⁵ Schwebel, *Salz*, 54–59. Between 1653 and 1668 Wilson returned seven times from Culross, five times from Kincardine, twice from Bo'ness and once from Torryburn. For three additional journeys from Scotland in this period the toll precinct is not stated. After 1668 Wilson exchanged his ship for a bigger vessel but continued to travel to Scotland.

¹⁷⁶ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1654–1660, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.g. p. 307, 11 March 1659.

¹⁷⁷ StAB, Salz, 2-Ss.2.b.S.2., Lüneburg Senate to Bremen Senate, Lüneburg, 17 March 1590; Schwebel, *Salz*, 33, 41.

¹⁷⁸ Schwebel, *Salz*, 12, 33 and 44.

Furthermore, Bremen merchants had to receive permission from the senate before they were allowed to deliver Scottish salt to Lüneburg.¹⁷⁹

Until the 1670s Scottish salt exports to Northwest Germany were exclusively transported in Bremen ships revealing that a special agreement must have been in place, albeit documentation to prove this remains elusive.¹⁸⁰ Between 1658 and 1675 the Weser toll registers record one hundred imported ship freights of Scottish salt from Culross, Torryburn and Kincardine and it has to be assumed that several of these freights belonged to Alexander Bruce (Earl of Kincardine since 1661) who personally visited Bremen in 1657/58.¹⁸¹ The Weser toll registers suggest an increased use of the port of Bo'ness for this trade from 1661 onwards.¹⁸² A comparison with the extant export registers of this harbour reveals that out of the eleven Bremen ships which left the toll precinct laden with salt in 1666 only four arrived on the Weser.¹⁸³ The same applies for the year 1673 when two out of the seven Bremen ships leaving Bo'ness arrived at Elsfleth signifying the use of Bremen ships as neutral carriers during the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars.¹⁸⁴ The Scottish merchant James Graham was one of the most frequent users of Bremen ships for salt exports, though not all of these necessarily went to Bremen. Graham also maintained a close business connection with the Hamburg merchant Cornelio van Weed. In 1674 the latter was ordered by Graham and his business associate Henry Stewart to pay a substantial sum of 1196 Imperial dollars to their servant James Brown who was then in the city.¹⁸⁵ It is unclear if this related to the salt trade although Graham's commercial activities hint in this direction. Van Weed's involvement in Scottish trade

¹⁷⁹ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1654–1660, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.9, p. 307, 11 March 1659.

¹⁸⁰ Schwebel, *Salz*, 41–43.

¹⁸¹ Schwebel, *Salz*, 51. As the registers are incomplete the number of ships is probably higher. Interestingly, the number of ships arriving from Culross seems to have dropped significantly after 1663 with 1–2 ships arriving annually thereafter compared to 2–6 ships sailing from the port annually between 1654 and the early 1660s. However, the use of Torryburn increased slightly during this period suggesting that this port was then more accessible.

¹⁸² Schwebel, *Salz*, 51. Between 1661 and 1673 two to seven ships returned annually from Bo'ness to the Weser.

¹⁸³ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/1, Bo'ness, 2, 3, 10, 11 and 23 April, 6 and 14 June, 6 and 20 August 1666; Schwebel, *Salz*, 51.

¹⁸⁴ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/7, Bo'ness, 15 April, 5 and 23 May, 2 and 18 June, 21 July 1673; Schwebel, *Salz*, 51. Unfortunately the extant German and Scottish trade records do not allow for further cross references.

¹⁸⁵ NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/63, 484–485, Bond, James Graham/Cornelio van Weed, 7 October 1679.

must have been considerable as he became a burgess and guildbrother in Edinburgh in 1679.¹⁸⁶

Scottish merchants resident in Northwest Germany also participated in the salt trade from the 1670s onwards. Gilbert Spence had moved to Bremen by 1672 when he represented the Royal salt commissioner Robert Mylne in a court case against the heirs of Arnold Havemann alongside the advocate Dr Paul Coch.¹⁸⁷ Havemann had acted as a representative for several other Scottish traders in the early 1670s, including Kincardine, but had left significant debts to them after his death.¹⁸⁸ The court case, which was initiated to retrieve these debts from the inheritors, was finally put to rest in 1676 with a settlement.¹⁸⁹ Spence complained to one of his business partners, William Bruce of Balcaskie, that the Mylne brothers had tainted his reputation with 'reproach and scandal', presumably referring to their behaviour in the proceedings against Havemann's heirs.¹⁹⁰ He then feared that they would prejudice his business associate James Cockburn against him. This was not without some justification as the latter had sent the Scot David Gudey to Bremen to gather information on the state of affairs and to receive consignments of Scottish goods in the city which almost certainly belonged to Cockburn.¹⁹¹ However, despite these difficulties their business relations continued to function.¹⁹² His link with the aforementioned salt merchants and some of the entries in Bremen's trade records signify that Spence acted as factor for several Scottish traders. There were also cases

¹⁸⁶ Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1665–1680, 379. Admission, Cornelio van Weed, Edinburgh, 10 October 1679.

¹⁸⁷ StAB, Forderung Robert und Alexander Mylne an Arnold Havemann, 2-W.g.b.14, 1674–1675; Schwebel, *Salz*, 65–68.

¹⁸⁸ StAB, Hitlandfahrer, 2-R.11.kk, Memorial, without date or place; Schwebel, *Salz*, 65–68.

¹⁸⁹ Due to the involvement of the Royal commissioner, Charles II showed a close interest in the outcome of the case. *CSPD*, 1673–1675, 348, Charles II to Bremen Senate, Whitehall, 9 September 1674; TNA, SP82/12 fol.160, Bremen Senate to Charles II, Bremen, 3 October 1674; For further details on the court case see Schwebel, *Salz*, 65–68.

NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/1906, Spence to Balcaskie, Bremen, 19 April 1676.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*; Schwebel, *Salz*, 59. On 4 July 1676 Magnus Wilson paid tolls on Gudey's behalf for 30 lasts of salt. In addition, Gudey received two further consignments of goods in Bremen the same day.

¹⁹² This can be gauged from the fact that Alexander and Robert Mylne were prepared to lend Spence a sum of £100 Sterling in 1676 (guaranteed by the Leith merchant George Riddell). NAS, RD2/48, 648, Bond, Spence/Alexander and Robert Mylne, Leith, 1676. He was also credited a sum of £300 Sterling by Cockburne (guaranteed by James and George Riddell). NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/47, 745–746, Bond, Spence/Cockburne, Leith, 20 July 1677.

in which he simply assisted Scottish merchants who arrived in the city in person. These included John Craig, a representative of the Edinburgh merchants John Riddell and William Lamb, who sold a consignment of salt in Bremen in April 1688.¹⁹³ For his return journey to Scotland (which he intended to make via Norway) Craig purchased a quantity of iron and a cask full of hams. However, he had miscalculated some of his costs and was thus necessitated to borrow 200 dollars from Gilbert Spence who had also provided his accommodation.¹⁹⁴

However, Spence did not only serve as an agent for his fellow countrymen but also traded on his own account. Between 1672 and 1690 he received several cargoes consisting of Scottish salt, including two consignments from Amsterdam which Spence obtained on 21 March 1673 reminding us again that Scottish-Bremen trade could sometimes take indirect routes.¹⁹⁵ A close associate of Spence in Bremen was the Englishman William Willet who also acted as factor for the Jolly family.¹⁹⁶ For sure this shared connection brought Spence in contact with Alexander and Robert Jolly who engaged in the Scottish salt trade themselves. Their network included Jolly's Hamburg-based partner, William Grison. In 1678 Grison was to sell part of a load of Scottish salt at Bremen and Robert Jolly ordered Willet to send a bill to George Jolly at Prestonpans covering the value of this cargo.¹⁹⁷ The fact that Grison was to close the deal reveals that he must have had contacts in the city which had perhaps been initiated by Alexander Bruce who had visited Grison in Hamburg in 1658.¹⁹⁸ As previously mentioned, neutral Bremen ships were in high demand during the Third Anglo-Dutch War and Bremen's trade volume increased significantly.¹⁹⁹ This resulted in a shortage of Bremen vessels and in a subsequent relaxation of the prohibition of salt transports to the city in Scottish ships. Alexander Jolly

¹⁹³ NAS, RH15/88/1/1, John Craig to John Riddell, Bremen, 9 April 1688.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/31, Bo'ness, 13 November 1689; StAO, Weserzoll-register, Best. 20-AB-D18, Elsfleth, 21 March 1673; Schwebel, *Salz*, 64.

¹⁹⁶ See above.

¹⁹⁷ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 27 November 1678.

¹⁹⁸ Stevenson (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray*, 195, Robert Moray to Alexander Bruce, Maastricht, 19/29 April 1658.

¹⁹⁹ Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 135. Despite the fact that Bremen's intake from excise tax sank considerably in 1675 after a peak in 1673 no less than fourteen English ships were needed to transport Scottish salt to Bremen in 1678. Bremen as well as Hamburg ships engaged as carriers for Scottish trade with France in 1673. NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/15/14, Leith, 20 February and 15 July 1673; E72/15/15, Leith, 22 January and 25 June 1673.

was one of the skippers who profited from the softened regulations as he freighted Scottish salt on behalf of the Earl of Weymss to Bremen in 1679.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, in March 1681 he left Fife carrying 45 'great chalders' of salt from Dysart.²⁰¹ After his arrival in Bremen he met the merchant Hans Jacob Meier, a relative of Arend Meier, to whom he presumably sold his cargo.²⁰² On this occasion Alexander Jolly was also supposed to meet with his brother and Grison at Bremen but they were delayed due to Grison falling ill.²⁰³ Nevertheless, Robert Jolly used his brother's visit to Bremen to establish the current salt price in the city, confirming his continued interest in this lucrative trade.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, the Jollys maintained contacts with the Jacobs family who were known to have engaged in the Scottish salt trade since the 1650s.²⁰⁵ As with their counterparts in the fish trade, Bremen and Hamburg ships sailing to Scotland in the 1690s were exposed to the dangers of French privateers. Thus, several cargoes consisting of salt were transported in ships re-registered at Danish Altona and Oldenburg as well as Swedish Stade.²⁰⁶

Around the turn of the century a new Bremen-Scottish link was set up between Berend Gloysten and George Clark in Leith. Interestingly, the latter was expressly referred to by Gloysten as an Englishman, suggesting that the Scottish salt trade did not always involve Scottish merchants or indicating another miss-identification.²⁰⁷ Gloysten's correspondence exemplifies the pattern of salt trade during this period. He had sent the

²⁰⁰ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Charter Party, Weymss/Alexander Jolly, 31 March 1679.

²⁰¹ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/9/10, Fife, 17 March 1681. The toll register was signed for by John Cowan who belonged to Jolly's crew.

²⁰² NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 22 April 1681.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 11 March 1683; RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Isobel Touch, Hamburg, 5 June 1688. The Jacobs family held a number of commercial contacts in Scotland. One of them was the Earl of Wintoun from whom Dirich Jacobs received 46 chalders of salt in 1687. NAS, Miscellaneous Papers, RH9/1/176, Account, Captain Collinson, Seton, 1687.

²⁰⁶ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/9/10, Fife, 17 March 1681; E72/5/12, Bo'ness, 8 August 1681; E72/5/35, Bo'ness, 8 August 1690; E72/9/28, Fife, 9 October 1690; E72/5/37, Bo'ness, 4 August 1691.

²⁰⁷ NAS, Campbell Papers, RH15/14/74, Berend Gloysten to George Clark, Three Letters, Bremen, 8 February, 13 March and 19 April 1699. Curiously, a merchant with the same name who has been identified as an ethnic Scot traded in Leith at the same period. This could indicate that Gloysten simply made a mistake in his address. However, Clark did apparently nothing to correct him.

Bremen skipper Dirk Holthusen to Leith with 1,000 clapboards, 5 casks of Westphalian hams, 20 barrels of mum beer and 1,200 barrels of blacking which Clark was to sell on his behalf. From the profit of these sales he was to purchase a cargo of salt which was to be sent back to Bremen. However, the profits were not sufficient to fund the return freight and thus Clark drew £100 Sterling on Johan Martens Elking, Gloysten's contact in London.²⁰⁸ This commercial exchange was meant as a trial run which must have gone well as Gloysten's brother visited Scotland the following month with another cargo of the above commodities in order to 'see the country'.²⁰⁹ These also included a gift consisting of two Westphalian hams and a barrel of beer for Clark, revealing that Gloysten intended to continue his commercial activity in Scotland.²¹⁰ However, a month later he decided to change his order from salt to coal and salmon as salt was 'not for the present here to be sold, because there are several ship loads come, from other countrys'.²¹¹ Gloysten referred almost certainly not only to Iberian or Lüneburg but also to Newcastle salt which arrived increasingly on Bremen's market due to the city's exemption from the Navigation Acts in 1669 which strengthened commercial links with England.²¹² The intake of Newcastle salt led to complaints by some Bremen merchants in the 1670s that the English commodity—which was perceived as being of poorest quality—was sold as Scottish salt.²¹³ Although some measures were undertaken to hinder this fraudulent behaviour, Newcastle salt still posed some form of competition in 1701 when Robert Jolly complained that it sold cheaper than the Scottish commodity in both Bremen and Hamburg.²¹⁴ Bremen's salt merchants faced more difficulties from protectionist measures implemented by the Elector of Hanover, George Louis. From the late 1660s several edicts and toll regulations had prohibited or limited the sale of Scottish salt in certain Guelph territories such as the county of Hoyer.²¹⁵ In 1702 these culminated in a complete prohibition

²⁰⁸ NAS, Campbell Papers, RH15/14/74, Gloysten to George Clark, Bremen, 8 February and 19 April 1699.

²⁰⁹ NAS, Campbell Papers, RH15/14/74, Gloysten to George Clark, Bremen, 13 March 1699.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ NAS, Campbell Papers, RH15/14/74, Gloysten to George Clark, Bremen, 19 April 1699.

²¹² Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 147.

²¹³ Schwebel, *Salz*, 79–81.

²¹⁴ NAS, Pyper Papers, RH15/101/15, Robert Jolly to Alexander Pyper, Hamburg, 10 January 1701; Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 231.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 68.

of Scottish salt imports into the whole Electorate of Hanover which remained in place even after George Louis ascended to the British throne leading to complaints from Scottish merchants and conflict with the city of Bremen in 1718.²¹⁶ However, recent research has proven that despite these restrictions Scottish salt played a significant role on the Bremen and northwest German market (excluding Hanoverian territories) until the 1760s/70s which can be attributed to its continued price competitiveness and sufficient quality.²¹⁷

Scottish Exports: Coal

Continuing the theme of related industries, the operation of the Scottish salt works was closely linked to the mining of coal. However, Scottish coal was not only used as fuel for salt pans but also exported to the continent. Scottish traders dealing with this commodity found particularly favourable market conditions in Rotterdam where Scottish brokers were employed to regulate and manage coal imports.²¹⁸ By the 1620s these were in high demand as fuel for Rotterdam's and other nearby Dutch industries. The employment of Scots helped to ensure a steady supply of coal but also encouraged 'insider' dealing between the Scottish brokers and their countrymen.²¹⁹ The presence of fellow Scots in official positions must have affected a move in favour of Rotterdam as a destination for Scottish coal merchants over the cities of Bremen and Hamburg. Nevertheless, surpluses of Scottish coal on the Dutch market were re-exported to Bremen and there is ample evidence of direct imports of the commodity from Scotland as well.²²⁰ In the mid-1640s Arend Meier facilitated coal imports on behalf of Bremen merchants from his business correspondents, the Earl of Kincardine and Alexander Bruce.²²¹ Given the role the Bruce family played in the coal trade, a commercial connection with the merchant William Grison is not only plausible, but likely especially as Bruce visited

²¹⁶ Ibid., 68–70.

²¹⁷ Rössner, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, 137–138.

²¹⁸ Catterall, 'Scots along the Maas', 184–185.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ StAO, Weserzollregister, Best. 20–16, No. 298. For example on 9 May 1637 the Bremen skipper Johan Vedeken passed the toll station at Elsfléth coming from Scotland with a load of stone coal; Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 146.

²²¹ NLS, Bruce Papers, Acc.12868, Arend Meier to Alexander Bruce, Bremen, 26 February 1656; Acc.12868, Arend Meier to the Earl of Kincardine, Bremen, 20 April 1656.

Grisson in Hamburg in 1658.²²² The Hamburg Admiralty toll registers also record imports of Newcastle coal during this period.²²³ Interestingly, the coal fields at Newcastle were then occupied by the Scottish Covenanters (1644–1647) who thus presumably controlled the sales to Hamburg.²²⁴ But this was not necessarily the only Anglo-Scottish connection with the coal trade. One Gilbert Marshall is recorded as a Merchant Adventurer in the early 1640s and it may be more than coincidence that the Scottish coal merchant Gavin Marshall exported coal on a Hamburg ship from Bo'ness in 1666.²²⁵ Furthermore, Alexander Jolly had commercial interests in Scottish coal since the late 1670s when he sold the commodity at Rotterdam.²²⁶ However, from the early 1680s he and his brothers Robert and George traded with both English and Scottish coal in Hamburg as part of a triangular trade which also included Norwegian timber.²²⁷ Interestingly, one of the cargoes Alexander Jolly delivered to Hamburg was declared as 'English goods' at one of Hamburg's toll stations and a payment was made which featured as 'English company impositions' in Alexander Jolly's account.²²⁸ This confirms that the Jollys made illegal use of the trade advantages granted to the English Adventurers in Hamburg. Some members of the company must have complained to the senate as Robert Jolly experienced difficulties with the city authorities the following year. On 5 July Jolly sent a report to the convention of the Royal burghs, stating that

²²² StAH, Admiralitätskollegium, 371–2, F4, vols. 13–14, 1644–1646; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 57–58. Earlier imports of Scottish coal which reached Hamburg between 1644 and 1646 undoubtedly belonged to William Grison. Only the toll registers between 1644 and 1646 reveal the destination of ships leaving Hamburg for Scotland and Shetland. They only record the names of merchants exporting commodities to these destinations. Grison sent at least six freights of goods consisting of train oil, honey, stones, timber, raisins and copper to Scotland and it has to be assumed that some of the stone coal sent from Scotland to Hamburg (the only recorded imported commodity arriving from thence) belonged to this merchant. For Bruce's visit to Hamburg see below.

²²³ StAH, Admiralitätskollegium, 371–2, F4, vols. 13–14, 1644–1646; Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 57–58.

²²⁴ A.I. Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629–1660* (Basingstoke, 2004), 156–157.

²²⁵ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 27 November 1642; NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/7, Bo'ness, 6 June 1666.

²²⁶ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Alexander Jolly, 24 October 1679.

²²⁷ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/21/4, Prestonpans, 27 May, 31 July 1682; NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Alexander Jolly to Robert Jolly, 25 February 1682; NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, Alexander Jolly, 1682; RH15/140, Account Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, 11 March 1684.

²²⁸ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account Alexander Jolly to Robert Jolly, 25 February 1682.

...he haveing exported from Scotland several goods of the product of this kingdom to the city of Hamburg he wes impeded to make seal thereof, he not being a member of the English societie, who by the 42 article of the contract betuixt the senators of the said citie and them, dated in anno 1618, are alleged to be debarred as being subjects of the King of England, wheras the contract cannot debarre the merchants of Scotland from making seal of their goods at Hamburg of the product of this kingdom, they not being subjects of England...²²⁹

From this document it becomes evident that the senate of Hamburg was confused about Jolly's nationality, aiming to protect the Adventurers' trade from illegal transactions of Englishmen in their city. The Scottish Convention answered with a petition to Hamburg's authorities to grant Scots free trade in the city and to discharge those company members who were troubling Scottish merchants.²³⁰ In 1684 Robert Jolly informed his brother Alexander that Newcastle and Scottish coal fetched good prices in Hamburg provided that not more than two ships arrived at the same time, revealing that he was able to continue this trade in the city.²³¹ After Jolly's successful precedent, the Edinburgh merchant Robert Douglas also engaged himself in the coal trade, though he may have been active earlier. His contact with the city can first be gauged from business correspondence between Andrew Russell and the Hamburg merchant Eliaß Bädeken in 1680. Bädeken informed Russell about an order by Douglas to his brother-in-law Georg Coopman (who worked at the local sugar bakery) which was to be sent with the next available ship to Scotland.²³² In 1694 Douglas again sold coal to the Hamburg trader P. Meyer who appears to have been his regular correspondent.²³³ At the same time, Scottish coal exports continued to arrive in the city of Bremen. The city's local forge guild possessed privileges which stipulated that all coal imports had to be offered to them before they could be re-exported.²³⁴ The senate's confirmation of this privilege (following a complaint by the guild) in 1699 affirms the dependence of the local artisans on the commodity. Although we have yet to establish how exactly the local demand for coal affected

²²⁹ *Extracts from the Record of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*, 1677–1711, 4, Report, Robert Jolly to the Convention, Hamburg, 5 July 1683.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, Convention to Hamburg Senate, Edinburgh, 4 July 1684.

²³¹ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 18 July 1684.

²³² NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/387/4, Eliaß Bädeken to Russell, Hamburg, 28 March 1680.

²³³ Tiedemann, *Die Schifffahrt*, 152–153.

²³⁴ StAB, 2-Ss.2.b.S.6., Act Regarding the Coal Trade, 28 June 1699.

the Scottish trade with Bremen, we can assume that Scottish exports continued to arrive in the city in the following decades.

The Scottish Commercial Network in Bremen and Hamburg

Given the engagement of Scots and Germans in a variety of industries, it is of little surprise that some of the fish, salt and coal merchants settled in the region, and even established their commercial bases in the cities of Bremen and Hamburg. This section reviews a number of these individuals and attempts to reconstruct their business networks.

In the aftermath of the British Civil Wars, Kincardine's former salt factor, Archibald Mercer, and his family returned to Bremen. However, Mercer died in 1650 and was buried in the St Stephani church survived by his wife Elizabeth (nee Kennedy) and six children.²³⁵ Shortly after Mercer's death, the Scottish skipper Magnus Wilson appears in Bremen records (from 1651) and the time of his arrival hints that he too was a refugee.²³⁶ Wilson became a member of the society of skippers (*Seefahrer-Brüderschaft*) in 1656 and acquired citizen rights two years later.²³⁷ His formal integration into the local society allowed him to register his ship, the *Alexander Carl*, as a Bremen vessel and to carry salt to the city.²³⁸ His profession acquainted Wilson with the Bremener and Shetland merchant Hermann Detjen who acted as godfather and namesake to Wilson's first-born son on 11 November 1656.²³⁹ Interestingly, Elizabeth Mercer was the second godparent, proving a meaningful connection between herself and the Wilson family.²⁴⁰ It is possible that she and Wilson were also in

²³⁵ Drewes, 'The Scottish Civil War Refugee' (online publication). His extravagant funeral costs suggest that Mercer possessed some considerable wealth despite his exile.

²³⁶ Schwebel, *Salz*, 55. Magnus Wilson was probably a relative of John Wilson who employed the Bremen merchant Dietrich Schorffmann in 1626 to oversee the purchase of 25 muskets which had been shipped to the Weser on the ship *Admiral*. StAB, Waffn, SS.2.b.w.4, Export of Danish Muskets to Edinburgh, 1626.

²³⁷ StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1643–1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 4 February 1658; Schwebel, *Salz*, 55.

²³⁸ NLS, Bruce Papers, Acc.12868, Arend Meier to Alexander Bruce, Bremen, 26 February 1656. For a comprehensive overview over Wilson's journeys between 1653 and 1681 see Schwebel, *Salz*, 56–60.

²³⁹ Schwebel, *Salz*, 55.

²⁴⁰ This was a lifelong link as can be seen from the fact that Wilson changed the name of a grave in the St Stephani church in 1678—where both Archibald and Elizabeth Mercer had been buried in 1650 and 1660 respectively—first to the latter's and then to his own name. It was here that Wilson was eventually buried in 1681. Schwebel, *Salz*, 55.

communication with the Scots William Strachan, Joris Bart and John More (Leith) who likewise moved to Bremen in the aftermath of the Civil Wars or during the Cromwellian Usurpation and who acquired Bremen citizen rights in 1649, 1653 and 1656 respectively.²⁴¹ However, we have no further information on these men and thus cannot prove if they were acquainted with each other or with the Mercer family. A definite link existed between Elizabeth Mercer and the aforementioned Scottish merchant William Grison in Hamburg. Grison had been born in the Scottish staple town of Veere in the Dutch Republic and married in the reformed church in Altona, thus confirming a familiar pattern for non-Lutherans being resident in Hamburg but crossing into Danish Holstein for their confessional needs.²⁴² During the 1650s Grison received 1,000 Imperial dollars from Elizabeth Mercer although it is unclear if this loan was commercially or politically motivated.²⁴³ Mercer's link with Grison certainly facilitated the stay of Alexander Bruce with Grison in Hamburg in 1658. Mercer maintained close relations with Bruce which become visible in the fact that he chose the pseudonym 'John Mercer' shortly before his departure to the continent in 1657.²⁴⁴ Bruce's journey was certainly motivated by his commercial connections with the city although Royalist sympathies probably also played a role.²⁴⁵ Furthermore, the connection between Elizabeth Mercer and Grison may have facilitated a business link between the latter and John Mercer, a Scot based in Gothenburg who sent at least three consignments from his home port to Hamburg between 1638 and 1653, possibly using Grison as his factor.²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1643–1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 28 April 1649, 31 January 1653; 8 May 1656; Schwebel, *Salz*, 55. They are registered as William Stachman, Joris Bart and Johan Möhr.

²⁴² Schubert, *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs*, vol. 6d, 31 October 1641.

²⁴³ Drewes, 'The Scottish Civil War Refugee' (online publication). See chapter 3 for a discussion of political networks in the region.

²⁴⁴ Stevenson, 'The Life of Sir Robert Moray', 19.

²⁴⁵ A.J. Youngson states that it was first and foremost commercial interests which brought Alexander Bruce to the continent rather than political exile. A.J. Youngson, 'Alexander Bruce, Second Earl of Kincardine (1629–1681)', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 15 (1960), 252. David Stevenson generally agrees but also notes Alexander Bruce's involvement in the Royalist cause. Stevenson, 'The Life of Sir Robert Moray', 18–19. See chapter 3.

²⁴⁶ Christina Dalhede, *Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad* (3 vols., Stockholm, 2001), vol. 3 (CDRom Database); Grosjean and Murdoch, 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg', 191–223.

In addition to his contacts with Mercer and Bruce, and his extended European trade links, Grison was definitely connected to the Merchant Adventurers although he cannot be proven to have been a member of their company. Between May 1651 and April 1652 the Scot Alexander Garden, a major in Swedish service, lent various sums of money ranging between 500 and 2,000 Imperial dollars to Grison and several company members, including Leonard Scott, James Harrington, John Ward and John Gilbert.²⁴⁷ When looking for a conduit to the company it is possible that Grison had initiated the transactions between Garden and the English as he was the first to receive a sum of 1,200 Imperial dollars from Garden. Further Anglo-Scottish connections emerge. Leonard Scott and Daniel Crawford, another debtor to Garden, were also ethnic Scots and in contact with Grison. Crawford, like Grison, cannot positively be proven to have been a company member. However, he received his loan through the Adventurer Wilhelm Atwood. Moreover, he was almost certainly a relative of John Crawford who was listed as a communicant in the English church in Hamburg on 4 May 1650.²⁴⁸ Interestingly on the same day the English Republican resident Richard Bradshaw also received communion along with one Mr 'Jollye'.²⁴⁹ The entry may thus be an indication of a cross-ethnic connection between the merchants via the Adventurer Crawford. It is also the first mention of the presence of a member of the Jolly family in Hamburg unearthed to date.²⁵⁰

Alexander Garden did not limit his financial lending to Scots or Englishmen. The Hamburg merchant Paul Paulsen also received a sum of 2,000 Imperial dollars from him in 1652 through Wilhelm Atwood, further demonstrating links between locals, the Scot and the company.²⁵¹ Altogether the evidence suggests that regardless of the civil conflict in Britain or even the occupation of Scotland by Cromwell's forces, Anglo-Scottish commercial concerns could develop with Grison and Garden at the centre of these. They also linked the military network to the

²⁴⁷ NAS, Burnett and Reid Records, GD57/1/336/10, Notarial Copy of Obligations, May 1651–April 1652; StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 7 January 1638, 13 December 1635, 5 December 1647, 29 October 1654.

²⁴⁸ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 4 May 1650.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* The entry indicates the presence of the Jolly family who were to hold significant links with Bremen and Hamburg from the late 1670s and were to become business partners of William Grison.

²⁵⁰ See below.

²⁵¹ NAS, Burnett and Reid Records, GD57/1/336/10, Notarial Copy of Obligations, May 1651–April 1652.

commercial, again reiterating the importance of not confining people to any one capacity when researching them.

Evidence for a sustained Scottish mercantile presence within the region during the late 1650s and 1660s is limited although we can trace a few probable Scots among the Adventurers, including William Poppel, probably the same person as the Scottish merchant later active in Bordeaux in the 1670s.²⁵² Furthermore, the skipper John Thomason was involved in an incident at sea with his hoy (a coastal fishing and trading vessel) in September 1662, being described by Sir Thomas Allen as 'a Scot belonging to Hamburg.'²⁵³ Another Scot, John Williamson from Dundee, acquired citizen rights of Bremen in 1665 and became skipper of the city's biggest ocean-going ship, the *Kaufmann von Bremen*.²⁵⁴ Magnus Wilson's presence can be traced throughout the same period. He and Grison maintained links with fellow countrymen who moved to the region from the 1670s. Gilbert Spence acquired citizen rights of Bremen in January 1672²⁵⁵ and became a part-owner of Wilson's new ship called variously the *Gräfin von Bremen* or the *Countess of Kincardine*.²⁵⁶ The skipper continued to sail to the Scottish east coast complemented by additional trips to the Baltic.²⁵⁷ His journeys to the Firth of Forth provided an important link

²⁵² StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 3 July 1657; Murdoch, 'The French Connection', 30.

²⁵³ R.C. Anderson (ed.), *Journals of Sir Thomas Allen* (London, 1939), 102. He was possibly identical to a namesake who had married in the German reformed church in Altona in 1636. Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs*, vol. 6d, 61, 31 January 1636.

²⁵⁴ StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1643–1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 23 October 1665; Schwebel, *Salz*, 55. As the ship was tall enough to carry 160 lasts it is unlikely that it was used to freight goods from the small Scottish East coast ports. Scottish-German links also facilitated the arrival of a prominent Scot, Sir William Davidson of Curriehill, in Hamburg in 1666. Curriehill had been the Conservator of the Scottish staple at Veere since 1662 but had been forced to leave the United Provinces due to the Second Anglo-Dutch War. After a brief stay in Copenhagen in January he visited Hamburg en route to Antwerp. It was here that he received a considerable sum of 1,250 Imperial dollars from the senate on a bill of exchange of Paul Paulsen indicating an existing business link with this merchant. It is possible that Davidson met with Grison while in Hamburg, albeit there is no evidence that the Scottish merchant was present during this period, although he re-emerges in the extant documents in the late 1670s. TNA, SP82/11 fol. 18, Hamburg, 3/13 April 1666; Murdoch, *Network North*, 149.

²⁵⁵ StAB, Bürgerbuch der Altstadt 1643–1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 16 January 1672; Schwebel, *Salz*, 56.

²⁵⁶ NAS, High Court of Admiralty, AC7/4, Document Relating to Wilson's Ship, May 1676; Schwebel, *Salz*, 56. Wilson exchanged his old vessel, the *Alexander Carl*, for the *Gräfin* during the 1660s. This ship was considerably bigger (80 lasts) forcing the skipper to depart from the deeper Weser harbour of Brake.

²⁵⁷ Schwebel, *Salz*, 56.

for his relative John Wilson, a soldier in Brunswick-Lüneburg service stationed at Winsen. Magnus Wilson carried letters on his behalf to Scotland and was meant to return with some small purchases for his relative.²⁵⁸ In 1676 Spence sent a cargo of horses which he had bought on behalf of William Bruce of Balcaskie to Scotland with Wilson's ship.²⁵⁹ The cost of transport caused a dispute adding to previous frictions which had existed between the skipper and his owners who were resolved to sell the ship.²⁶⁰ This conflict led to a court case between Spence and Wilson, the outcome of which is unfortunately illusive.²⁶¹ Nonetheless, in addition to Wilson, Spence was acquainted with the local skipper Jochen Annes who in 1675 was ordered to purchase a ship in Holland on behalf of Spence's brother John Spence of Blair in partnership with John Haliday, James Mackie and John Kennewie (all officials or merchants in Culross).²⁶² Annes had undertaken at least one previous trip to Scotland and it is likely that he was meant to become skipper on the new ship engaging in Scottish-Bremen trade.²⁶³

As previously mentioned, Spence maintained a business link with John Spreull who visited the region in 1675 from where he corresponded with the Scottish factor at Rotterdam, Andrew Russell, linking Spence to this important figure.²⁶⁴ From Hamburg, Spreull passed on correspondence together with enclosures from Russell to a Mr Clark, a Scot in Gothenburg, under the cover of a letter to another friend whom he ordered to return the documents in the case that Clark had left the city. For extra security he also delivered the same letters under cover of another letter to Sir John Paul, the Scottish and British resident at Elsinore.²⁶⁵ What is certain is that

²⁵⁸ NAS, Kirkpatrick Family Papers, GD19/2152, John Wilson to Mrs Mitchell, Winsen, 26 May 1672.

²⁵⁹ NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/1906, Gilbert Spence to Balcaskie, Bremen, 19 April 1676; GD29/1906, Gilbert Spence to Balcaskie, Bremen, 9 August 1676.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ StAB, Obergerichtsprotokolle 1673–1677, 2-Qq.10.4.b., 193–195, Gilbert Spence vs. Magnus Wilson. Wilson was listed as paying fees for barks on four different voyages after 1679 indicating that he worked as skipper until his death in 1681 though on which ship is not certain. NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/1906, Gilbert Spence to Balcaskie, Bremen, 19 April 1676; GD29/1906, Gilbert Spence to Balcaskie, 9 August 1676. Schwebel, *Salz*, 60.

²⁶² NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/1864, Back-Bond, Jochen Annes/Blair, Edinburgh, 2 January 1675. The purchase of ships in Holland by Scottish traders was common. Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 49.

²⁶³ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/5/7, Bo'ness, 3 September 1673.

²⁶⁴ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/199/2, Spreull to Russell, Hamburg, 10 December 1675; RH15/106/199/4, Spreull to Russell, Hamburg, 16 December 1675.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

Spreull must have trusted this individual to have passed on the apparently sensitive letters to them.²⁶⁶ The unnamed 'friend' could have been one of the Scots at Gothenburg who continued their commercial contact with Hamburg in the 1670s. Although their commercial relations with the city do not prove any contact with Spreull, they must have used a factor in the city. This could have been John Beck whose connection with Scottish merchants has already been proven. Another possible candidate for this role was Nathaniel Watson who was closely associated with the Merchant Adventurers in whose church he received communion on 9 April 1664.²⁶⁷ Watson also had commercial dealings with the Scottish merchant in Stockholm, Alexander Waddell, in 1672²⁶⁸ and had a proven business link with Sir John Paul in 1674.²⁶⁹ Watson and Spreull were thus both linked to Paul, and it is very probable that Watson assisted Spreull during his stay in Hamburg, perhaps acquainting him with other Adventurers.

Gilbert Spence's commercial links with Amsterdam have already been mentioned above. In 1672 the merchant went on a business trip to the United Provinces on behalf of Balcaskie accompanied by a fellow countryman called John Gordon. The latter was a merchant at Veere and a relative of James Gordon, a Scottish agent in Rotterdam. John Gordon certainly knew Andrew Russell through his relative, linking Spence once again to this influential figure.²⁷⁰ An additional connection between Spence and the United Provinces derived through his acquaintance with the Englishman William Willet, who had acquired Bremen citizen rights in 1669. Willet acted as sponsor for Spence's application for citizenship three years later indicating that both men had already formed some sort of relationship by this point.²⁷¹ And this association paid dividends for the Englishmen.

In 1707/8 Spence assisted Willett's bankrupt cousin, the Irishman William Colclough. Their business involved intensive correspondence

²⁶⁶ For issues of trust implied and stated by handling correspondence see Murdoch, *Network North*, 80–81.

²⁶⁷ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 9 April 1664.

²⁶⁸ H. Roseveare (ed.), *Markets and Merchants of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Marscoe-David Letters, 1668–1680* (Oxford, 1987), 353–354, Alexander Waddell to Leonora Marscoe and Peter Joye, Stockholm, 24 July 1672; Murdoch, *Network North*, 163.

²⁶⁹ DRA, TKUA, England, A II 17, 'English' merchants to John Paul, 25 September 1674.

²⁷⁰ Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 77. There is only proof of Spence corresponding with the Scottish factor from September 1689 but it is probable that their connection had been established in the previous decades.

²⁷¹ StAB, Bürgerbuch Altstadt 1643–1683, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d., 16 January 1672. Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 238.

with the Rotterdam merchant Patrick Harper, possibly a Scot and former associate of Spence who also assisted Colclough.²⁷² Willet himself maintained a commercial connection with Amsterdam which had possibly been facilitated by Spence or vice versa. Furthermore, both merchants traded with London and Rouen, further broadening the geographic spread of their network.²⁷³ Their contact in the French port was almost certainly Willet's relative, Daniel Willet, who was based in Rouen in 1689.²⁷⁴ Another English contact of Spence at Bremen was William Rives who resided in Spence's house until 1691.²⁷⁵ In addition, Spence engaged himself in trade with Hamburg from where he received various commodities like bleach and candied lemon peel in 1673 which he intended for re-export to Scotland.²⁷⁶

In the late 1670s and early 1680s Willet's and Spence's network expanded with the commencement of the commercial activity of the Jolly family and the move of the Scottish merchant William Dunbar to Bremen.²⁷⁷ Willet's engagement as factor on behalf of Alexander and Robert Jolly has already been revealed. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that a link existed between Robert Jolly and William Dunbar. From this information we can safely gauge that a small 'British' mercantile network existed within the region during the late 1670s and 1680s. This was temporarily bolstered by sojourning Scottish merchants and skippers. For example, in November 1678 the Glasgow trader William Bogle was present in Hamburg informing Andrew Russell at Rotterdam that he had arrived from Bergen and asking for advice as to where he should sail with his goods from the city.²⁷⁸ His brother James Bogle was also trading with Hamburg. He was part owner

²⁷² StAB, Gilbert Spence, 2-Ss.2.a.2.f.2.s., Patrick Harper to Gilbert Spence, Rotterdam, 16 December 1707.

²⁷³ StAO, Weserzollregister, Best.20-AB-D18, 11 March, 15 April, 3, 19, 27 May 1673.

²⁷⁴ Prange, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft*, 243. According to Prange, Daniel Willet swore his Bremen citizenship oath on 16 September 1689 sponsored by William Willet and Johann Medehurst another English merchant resident in Bremen.

²⁷⁵ StAB, England, 2-W.9.b.1, Bremen Senate to (Jacobsen), Bremen, 11 February 1691. Spence's and Rives's relations came to an abrupt end when the latter fled the city after Spence's stepdaughter fell pregnant with Rive's child.

²⁷⁶ StAO, Weserzollregister, Best.20-AB-D18, Elsfleth, 15 June 1673.

²⁷⁷ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 11 March 1683; RH15/140, Account, 11 March 1684. Robert Jolly acted as factor for William Dunbar in Hamburg. The latter was partially trading with textiles. Dunbar's business partners in Scotland were probably a group of Montrose merchants who sent cloth to the region during this period. NAS, E72/16/7, Montrose, 21 September 1682.

²⁷⁸ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/305/6, William Bogle to Russell, Hamburg, 11 November 1678.

of James Campbell's vessel which was lost with its cargo at the island of Helgoland on a journey from Amsterdam to Hamburg in November 1680.²⁷⁹ Having continued from the island to Hamburg, Campbell received assistance from John Gordon who was then present in the city.²⁸⁰ However, the English resident, William Swann, forced him to spend this financial aid to relieve his crew. Thus Campbell requested Russell's help to establish another contact for him to raise more money in the city, although he was not sure if Russell had another correspondent there.²⁸¹ Gordon was a business acquaintance of Alexander Jolly and it is inconceivable that he did not meet with Robert Jolly while in Hamburg.²⁸² Through his connection to Gordon it is highly likely that Jolly was also in contact with Andrew Russell at this time. However, we do not know if Russell recommended Campbell to Jolly or to one of his other contacts (including Eliaß Bädeken) within the city only that he was connected enough to be able to find the help he required.

This is not the last we hear of Bogle, or of Russell in a Hamburg context. In 1687 Bogle instructed Jolly to remit a sum of money to Russell, revealing another commercial link between these Scottish merchants.²⁸³ Two years later the connection between Jolly and Russell was of some advantage to a Scottish travelling party consisting of a Mr Eliot, Mr Hume and Mr Mungo English who arrived in Hamburg before continuing their journey to Bremen.²⁸⁴ English informed Russell that Jolly had provided them with 240 Dutch guilders after he had learned that they were acquainted to him. This sum the factor was to repay to Alexander Pyper who was then in Rotterdam.²⁸⁵ After their stay in Hamburg the Scots continued to Bremen where they resided with Gilbert Spence who likewise assisted them financially on Russell's behalf.²⁸⁶ It is highly likely that further business

²⁷⁹ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/387/6, James Campbell to Russell, Hamburg, 23 November 1680.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, John Gordon to Alexander Jolly, Veere, 18 October 1681.

²⁸³ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/637/11, Robert Jolly to Russell, Hamburg, 28 October 1687.

²⁸⁴ During their stay in Bremen the Scottish travellers lodged with Spence. NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689, Several Bills and Letters, Gilbert Spence/Mungo English to Andrew Russell, 23 November–18 December 1689.

²⁸⁵ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689/17, English to Russell, Hamburg 26 October 1689; Murdoch, *Network North*, 137.

²⁸⁶ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689/10, English to Russell, Bremen, 24 November 1689.

relations existed between Robert Jolly and Andrew Russell and the latter's business associates. Russell was partner in a joint-stock company consisting of himself, Patrick Thomson (Stockholm) and Robert Turnbull (Edinburgh) which was set up in 1684 and later joined by James Thomson (Norrköping) and Alexander Baird (Stirling).²⁸⁷ This company employed John Gibb as skipper who was related to James and Patrick Thomson.²⁸⁸ It appears that family relations existed between some of these company members and the Jolly family. Whereas John Jolly (a fourth brother to Alexander, George and Robert Jolly) got married to Annis Turnbull in 1639, his nephew George Jolly (son to George Jolly senior) wed a woman called Margaret Gibb in 1690.²⁸⁹ Furthermore, Alexander Jolly (also son to George Jolly senior) married Isobel Thomson in 1700.²⁹⁰ Moreover, a skipper called John Thomson of Prestonpans was recorded as transporting salt to Bremen in 1670 and 1686 presumably meeting with Jolly's business partners in the city.²⁹¹ Robert Jolly also received coal from a skipper called James Thomson in Hamburg in 1682 who was possibly related to the Scottish merchants in Sweden.²⁹² As it has been proven that blood relations mattered considerably in forming trusted business links it has to be assumed that the Jollys played a role for the company and that its members sent commodities to Robert Jolly in Hamburg provided that the market was favourable.²⁹³ Jolly maintained a commercial link with Stockholm and in 1683 he had received commodities from there on behalf of David Madder in Montrose.²⁹⁴ As he refused to pay for these, Jolly could not answer Madder's bills from Stockholm, offending his business partners. These were described by Jolly as the 'North people' and 'subtle foxes' indicating that if he was linked to Thomson he had additional contacts in Sweden.²⁹⁵ However, Jolly's commercial network stretched beyond Scotland, the United Provinces or Scandinavia. In 1681 he complained

²⁸⁷ Murdoch, *Network North*, 144–145.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ NAS, Old Parish Registers, Prestonpans, John Jolly/ Annis Turnbull, 7 February 1639; George Jolly/Margaret Gibb, 26 September 1690 (accessed online at www.scotlandsppeople.gov.uk).

²⁹⁰ Ibid., Alexander Jolly/ Isobel Thomson, 19 March 1700.

²⁹¹ NAS, Exchequer Records, E72/9/4, Fife, 29 March 1670; E72/21/10, Prestonpans, 19 March 1686.

²⁹² NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, Robert Jolly, 25 February 1682.

²⁹³ Murdoch, *Network North*, 145, 166–168.

²⁹⁴ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 11 March 1683.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

to his brother about a decay of maritime trade except in France.²⁹⁶ This was not only through the loss of ships (due to the ongoing French-Dutch war) but also through a wave of bankruptcies in Antwerp, France and London as well as in Hamburg. Jolly was affected by these as several merchants in difficulties were his acquaintances and Jolly observed that 'one depends upon another as links upon a chain.'²⁹⁷ In light of Jolly's statement it is not surprising that he and his family continued their business links with France. Jolly's contacts in Bordeaux included a relative, Henry Jolly, who had engaged himself in the wine trade since the late 1660s.²⁹⁸ Furthermore, in 1682 Alexander Jolly was chartered by the Hamburg merchant Otto Danke to freight commodities to Cadiz, Alicante or Marseilles. Robert Jolly's accounts reveal that his brother had sailed to France on this occasion returning with wine.²⁹⁹ The following year Alexander Jolly set out to Marseilles again but was shipwrecked en route. His freight consisted of linen, fish, tar, hemp, stockfish, whalebone, copper and white iron.³⁰⁰ As typical Scandinavian exports the latter two commodities indicate further business links between the Jolly family and Sweden. On his trip to Marseilles, Jolly was accompanied by his cousin John Cowan who had previously engaged in small commercial activities and seemed to be part of Alexander Jolly's regular crew, broadening their family network.³⁰¹ With Alexander Jolly's death in 1688 this network lost one of its key players. Furthermore, William Grison disappears from records after the early 1680s. Given that he was active in Hamburg from the 1640s he must by then have reached a fairly old age and it is likely that he had either retired or died by this time.³⁰² But this death did not end Scottish networking in the region.

²⁹⁶ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Hamburg, 22 April 1681.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, without place, 11 November 1668; Murdoch, 'French Connection', 32.

²⁹⁹ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Charter Party, Alexander Jolly/Otto Danke, 20 October 1682; RH15/140, Account, Robert Jolly, 1682; RH15/140, Account, Robert Jolly, 1683.

³⁰⁰ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Alexander Jolly to George Jolly, 23 May 1683; RH15/140, Account, Alexander Jolly, May 1683.

³⁰¹ NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, George Jolly to Alexander Jolly, Edinburgh, 27 November 1677; RH15/140, Account, 1682; RH15/140, Alexander Jolly to George Jolly, Marseilles, 23 May 1683.

³⁰² Robert Jolly maintained a link with Grison's daughter Anna, perhaps assisting her after her father's death. NAS, Jolly Papers, RH15/140, Account, 11 March 1684.

In the late 1690s Robert Jolly met with Scots who homed in on the region with other, grander, commercial ideas. The attempts of the directors of the Company of Scotland to persuade foreign investors in Hamburg to join their scheme has been extensively analysed by G.P. Insh and Douglas Watt.³⁰³ Thus it is here sufficient to briefly summarise their activities. William Paterson and John Erskine arrived in the city in February 1697 meeting with the English Adventurers Francis Stratford and his son, also Francis. They had been appointed factors of the company but later withdrew their support not least due to their large investment in English government bonds.³⁰⁴ Their nomination was perhaps not too surprising as Stratford senior maintained connections with Scottish merchants like Andrew Russell and Alexander Ross in Copenhagen.³⁰⁵ Paterson's and Erskine's endeavours to find investors in Hamburg, Lübeck, Altona, Glückstadt and Tönning were only of very moderate success due to the resistance of Sir Paul Rycaut, William and Mary's resident at Hamburg and Sir James Cresset, envoy to Brunswick-Lüneburg. Initially there had been some interest within Hamburg's mercantile community as the Scottish Company would have offered an opportunity to circumnavigate the Dutch and English companies from whom Hamburg's merchants purchased East Indian commodities. However, after Rycaut threatened diplomatic action if the city's authorities were to support subscriptions only a few investments were made. One of the subscribers at Hamburg was the local merchant Andreas Tomloo, whose investment his heirs were still trying to retrieve in 1730.³⁰⁶

In addition to the search for investors the company directors commissioned the building of four ships in Hamburg. Their construction and equipment was supervised by Edinburgh merchant Alexander Stevenson who was present in the city from July 1696. In March 1697 the *Caledonia* and the *Instauration* were launched and were transferred to the Firth of Forth by November the same year.³⁰⁷ Robert Jolly was appointed to accompany the ships, which left Edinburgh for Central America in July

³⁰³ G.P. Insh, *The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies* (London, 1932); Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, 91–103, 123–125.

³⁰⁴ Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, 97–100.

³⁰⁵ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/759/4, Francis Stratford to Russell, Hamburg, 6 and 21 July 1693.

³⁰⁶ NAS, Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/93, Will, Andreas Tomloo, 31 December 1730. The heirs calculated that they were owed a sum of £3880 and 4pence Scots.

³⁰⁷ James Grant, *The Old Scots Navy from 1689 to 1710* (London, 1914), 216–217; Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, 118–119.

1698, as one of seven governors who were to administer the Scottish colony to be founded at Darien.³⁰⁸ Nothing is known about Jolly's motivation to leave Hamburg, or if he saw his departure as permanent, although the enticement of wealth and influence surely played a part. Shortly before his departure from Edinburgh Jolly not only employed James Bruce as factor for his trade links with Shetland but also mandated Robert Cunningham as representative for his other businesses.³⁰⁹ The outcome of the Darien project is well known. However, even before the Scots were forced to give up their colony for the first time, Robert Jolly and his fellow governor James Montgomerie left Darien due to internal conflicts among the settlers. When they returned to Edinburgh in August 1699 their departure was perceived with suspicion and later interpreted as desertion.³¹⁰ This may have been an incentive for Jolly to return to Hamburg where we can trace him in both 1701 and 1702 when he engaged himself as factor on behalf of Alexander Baird in 1702 revealing further links between him and members of the Russell, Thomson, Baird consortium.³¹¹

On Jolly's return to Hamburg, Alexander Stevenson was present in the city, from where he traded with Adam Montgomerie in Glasgow and was in contact with John Spreull.³¹² Adam Montgomerie, almost certainly a relative of James Montgomerie, also maintained trade links with the English Adventurers Francis Stratford and Samuel Free, a contact which had been initiated by Stevenson.³¹³ There is as yet no evidence that Jolly was in contact with Stevenson or the Adventurers on his return. However, it is likely that he continued some of his former business links with Spence and Willet who were still in Bremen in the 1700s. Spence had broadened his business by opening a coffee house in 1697 which he ran until 1704—the second of its kind within the city.³¹⁴ Furthermore, Robert Dunbar had

³⁰⁸ Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, 126.

³⁰⁹ NAS, Register of Deeds, RD2/81/1, Bond, Robert Jolly/James Bruce, Edinburgh, 22 February 1698; RD2/81/2, 434–435, Bond, Robert Jolly/Robert Cunningham, Edinburgh, 16 July 1698.

³¹⁰ NAS, Hamilton Papers, GD406/1/4427, Frances Scott to ?, Greenock, 12 August 1699; John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (Pimlico, 2002, first published in 1968), 193, 231–2.

³¹¹ NAS, RH15/140, Robert Jolly to Alexander Baird, Hamburg 1702.

³¹² Mitchell Library, Montgomerie Letterbook, B325799, Adam Montgomerie to Alexander Stevenson, Glasgow, 12 March 1702.

³¹³ Mitchell Library, Montgomerie Letterbook, B325799, Adam Montgomerie to Samuel Free and Francis Stratford, Glasgow, 26 January 1701; B325799, Adam Montgomerie to Francis Stratford, Glasgow, 16 March 1701.

³¹⁴ Petra Selig-Biehuse, *Kaffee-Handel und Kaffee-Genuss in der Stadt Bremen im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Bremen, 2001), 146–155.

replaced his brother William in the city by 1703.³¹⁵ Thus, Scottish merchants remained active within the region in the years immediately before the Anglo-Scottish parliamentary Union, continuously forming mercantile networks with their countrymen, indigenous Germans and with their English counterparts.

Conclusion

Despite serious competition and difficult market conditions, Scottish and northwest German merchants established a range of consistent and significant commercial links circulating mainly around exchange with Shetland and the Scottish salt trade. However, cooperation between them went beyond simple commercial exchanges. The establishment of a Scottish-Hamburg fishing company ambitiously aimed to challenge the supremacy of the Dutch fishery. Furthermore, commercial relations facilitated limited migration of Scottish merchants and skippers to the region and (in at least one case) of a Hamburg merchant to Edinburgh. Within the region Scots formed meaningful commercial relationships with their German counterparts as the example of Wilson's connection with the Detjen family reveals. Furthermore, Scots became members of official institutions within their host communities such as Bremen's society of skippers. However, while Scots like Spence can be proven to have acquired citizen rights in Bremen, Grison and Jolly did not purchase full citizen rights in Hamburg.³¹⁶ This can be explained by the fact that Hamburg offered foreigners the possibility to trade from their city while Bremen did not. Nevertheless, given the long-term stay of Jolly and Grison it is notable that they do not appear to have formally integrated into Hamburg's society though it is hard to believe they did not do so socially.

Cooperation between the company of English Merchant Adventurers and autonomous Scottish traders (as well as with independent English merchants) has been a recurring theme throughout this chapter. The Adventurers formed a community of their own complementary to Hamburg institutions. However, James Mowat is an example of a Scot

³¹⁵ NAS, Edinburgh Commissary Court, CC8/8/82, Will, William Dunbar, 13 July 1703.

³¹⁶ StAH, Genealogische Sammlungen, 741–2, Die Fremden in den Rechnungsbüchern der Wedde und Kämmerei. Grison and Jolly managed to avoid the tax authorities for most of their stay. Grison is recorded as paying taxes as a foreigner in 1641 and Jolly in 1693 and 1694.

bridging the gap by being involved with the Adventurers as well as belonging to the society of Hamburg merchants trading with Iceland (including Shetland). Several Scottish merchants were either closely attached to or members of the company. Some Adventurers like Watson (almost certainly a Scot himself) maintained links with Scottish merchants elsewhere in Europe. However, despite these examples of cooperation the presence of the English company also sometimes detracted from Scottish trade through overwhelmingly superior competition, particularly during periods of Anglo-Scottish hostility. For example, James Tailfer informed his business partner Clerk in 1653 of the activities of English merchants who had freighted fifteen ships to Hamburg in four convoys resulting in an increase in prices of commodities available on the city's market.³¹⁷ Furthermore, Robert Jolly experienced difficulties with the company although these resulted from his own infringement of their rights. Like the company the residents of the Hanseatic towns William Swann (on behalf of Charles II) and Paul Rycaut (on behalf of William/Anne) played an ambiguous role. As described above Swann became involved in the affairs of the stranded skipper James Campbell. While it was his official position which prompted him to intervene he left the skipper in a dismal situation in Hamburg although Campbell's crew certainly profited from his orders. Furthermore, as we have seen, Rycaut's behaviour in Hamburg seriously damaged the endeavours of the directors of the Company of Scotland. At the same time however he supported Jolly's case against his Bremen insurers, suggesting he dealt with the Scots on an issue by issue basis. Apart from interaction with the Adventurers and the involvement of official residents in Scottish trading affairs, Scots maintained close links with English merchants in Bremen like William Willet who acted as factor on behalf of Jolly and was a business partner of Gilbert Spence. Unsurprisingly, we find a number of meaningful contacts between Scots and their counterparts within the region and abroad in addition to the above example of Anglo-Scottish cooperation. Scottish factors operated in both Bremen and Hamburg although German merchants could also be proven to have taken this role on board, when required. These Scottish networks were however not always durable as the court case of Spence against Wilson demonstrates.

³¹⁷ NAS, Clerk Family Papers, GD18/2524/2, James Tailfer to John Clerk, Hamburg, 30 August 1653.

Jolly's, Grison's and Spence's long-term presence indicates that Bremen and Hamburg could offer Scottish merchants a base from which they could successfully be engaged in lucrative commercial endeavours. All three men maintained highly diversified trading activities signifying that focusing on one particular trade was not sufficient to sustain their presence in the region. However, the commercial activities of Scottish merchants elsewhere—such as those of William Davidson of Rotterdam and Daniel Young Leijonancker of Stockholm—reveal that the most successful entrepreneurs seldom stuck to any one industry.³¹⁸ It should be emphasised that some of the Scots who can be traced within the region in the 1640s and 1650s almost certainly did not solely arrive due to mercantile but also due to political reasons. Archibald and Elizabeth Mercer as well as Alexander Bruce were in contact with a Royalist network which operated in the region. At the same time Scottish officers in foreign service outside the region maintained contacts with local merchants. These political, diplomatic and military networks were robust and complex as the following chapter reveals.

³¹⁸ Murdoch, *Network North*, 174–177, 194–203.

*Appendix*A. Scottish Artisans, Merchants, Skippers and Ship Crews¹

Name ²	Date(s)	Place	Profession	Sources ³
Laurence Sinclair *Shetland	1593	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
Andrew Sinclair *Shetland	1607, 1615, 1616	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
Alexander Stevenson *St Andrews	2 February 1608	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
David Iansen	17 October 1609	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
Steven Baillie	1 January 1616	Altona	Merchant	Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
Angus Murray *Shetland	1617, 1618, 1624, 1625	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
John Murray *Shetland	1624, 1625	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
Peter Sinclair	1624	Hamburg	Citizen	StAH, 741–2.
Gilbert Harde *Shetland	1625	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
Thomas Sinclair *Shetland	1626	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
Andrew Mowat *Shetland	1628, 1630, 1631	Hamburg	Crew/Merchant	StAH, 741–2.
James Mowat *Shetland	1628, 1630, 1631	Hamburg	Crew/Merchant	StAH, 741–2.
Hans Manneken *Shetland	1630	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
Henrich Manneken *Shetland	1630, 1632	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
Archibald Mercer	1630s late 1640s–1650	Bremen	Factor	Schwebel, 44–48.

¹ Ordered according to their first recorded appearance in the region.

² * Refers to the place where the individual originated from or was closely associated with.

³ Due to constraints of space references have to be kept to a minimum. For full references see bibliography. (HH = Hamburg, SH-H = Schleswig-Holstein).

Table (*cont.*)

Name	Date(s)	Place	Profession	Sources
Andrew Crawford *Shetland	1635	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
John Andrew	15 September 1635	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
Andrew Spence *Shetland	1636	Bremen	Citizen/Pearl Embroiderer	StAB, 2-P.8.A.19.a.2.c.
John Thomason	31 January 1636	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
Hans Schilde *Dalkeith	17 January 1637	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 6d.
John Stuart	19 February 1637	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, SH-H, vol. 14.
William Grison *Veere	1640s–1680s	Hamburg	Merchant	Reißmann, 57–58. Schubert, Trauregister, H, vol. 6d. NAS, RH15/140.
John Bruce *Shetland		Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
N.N. *Shetland	1643	Hamburg	Crew	StAH, 741–2.
Elizabeth Mercer	Late 1640s	Bremen	Merchant	Schwebel, 55.
William Strachan	1649	Bremen		StAB, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d. Schwebel, 55.
Magnus Wilson	1651	Bremen	Skipper	Schwebel, 54–59.
Daniel Crawford	1652	Hamburg		NAS, GD57/1/336/10.
Joris Bart	1653–1661	Bremen		StAB, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d. Schwebel, 55.
John More *Leith	1656	Bremen		StAB, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d. Schwebel, 55.
Alexander Bruce	1657–Apr.1658	Bremen Hamburg	Merchant	Schwebel, 40–53.
Wilhelm Wieda	Aug. 1660	Tönning		Schubert, Trauregister, SH-H, vol. 7.
Freyer (Freiherr?) John Scot *Hamilton	Sep. 1660	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, HH, vol. 7.

Table (*cont.*)

Name	Date(s)	Place	Profession	Sources
John Thomason	1662	Hamburg	Skipper	Anderson, 102.
Ludwig Leslie	Nov 1664	Stormarn	Cordmaker Apprentice	Schubert, Trauregister, SH-H, vol. 2.
John Beck	1665, 1675	Hamburg	Factor	TNA, SP82/10, fol.263.
John Williamson *Dundee	1665	Bremen	Skipper	StAB, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d. Schwebel, 55.
James Spence	1669	Bremen	Citizen/ Cordmaker Apprentice	StAB, 2-P.8.A.19.a.3.d.
Isaac Simonson	1669	Hamburg	Merchant	NAS, RD14/9/1851.
Gilbert Spence	1672	Bremen	Merchant Factor	Schwebel, 65–70.
James Brown	1674	Hamburg	Factor	NAS, RD2/63, 484–5.
David Gudey	1676	Bremen	Factor	NAS, GD29/1906.
Robert Jolly *Prestonpans	1678–1697 1701–1702	Hamburg	Merchant Factor	NAS, RH15/140.
Robert Murray *ex Hibernia	Oct. 1680	Altona		Schubert, Trauregister, SH-H, vol. 14.
William Dunbar	1683	Bremen	Merchant	NAS, RH15/140.
James Bruce *Shetland	1693	Glückstadt	Skipper	StAB, 2-R.11.kk.
Alexander Stevenson	1696 1702	Hamburg	Commissioner Merchant	Watt, 118–119. Mitchell Library, B325799.
Robert Dunbar	1703	Bremen	Merchant	NAS, CC8/8/82.
Arthur Nicolson *Shetland	1705	Hamburg	Merchant	NAS, RH15/93/13–14.

B. The Church Book Of The Merchant Adventurers: Identified and Possible Scots⁴

Name	Date	Identity/Profession
Thomas Young	1620	Scottish Minister.
Henry Brown	1620	Servant.
Thomas Wood	1620	Servant.
Humphry Clark	1620	
Anne Clark		
Thomas Baillie	1620	Elder.
? Baillie		
Thomas Nicol	1620	
Peter Clark	1620	
Katherine Clark		
Steven Baillie	1620	
Anne Baillie		
George Stewart	1620	
Jane Stewart		
Gilbert Marshall	1620	
	27 November 1642	
Thomas Mitchell	1620	
Richard Clark	1620	
William Wood	1620	
Benjamin More	1620	
John Clark	1620	
George Pierson	1620	
Kiliphret Russell	1620	
William Ballantine	1620	
Thomas Shepherd	1620	
Archibald Mickemord	1621	
Joshua Cooper	1622	
James Hume (of Godscroft)	3 May 1623	
Nathaniel Jackson	5 July 1623	
Thomas Meldrum	1 November 1623	Scottish Officer.
Henry English	1 November 1623	
Anne Young	13 April 1623	
James Harper	4 September 1624	
Tobias Hume	4 September 1624	
Edward Little	5 November 1624	
? Stewart	3 September 1625	
James Murray	3 January 1626	Shetland Crew.
Margaret Davidson		
Richard Thomson	7 May 1626	
Robert Ballantine	7 May 1626	
John More	1 July 1626	
Robert Fowler	1 July 1626	
Frances Mitchell	2 September 1626	

⁴ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6; For marriages until 1704 see also Schubert, *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs*, vol. 6d, 94–96.

Table (*cont.*)

Name	Date	Identity/Profession
Nathaniel Fleming	2 September 1626	
Robert Anstruther	12 July 1627	Stuart Diplomat.
Anne Baillie	4 December 1627	
John Gardiner	6 September 1629	
Thomas Jordan	6 September 1629	
Edward Massie	5 September 1630	
James Mowat	7 May 1631	Shetland Crew/Scottish Merchant.
George Watson	2 November 1632	
	23 November 1641	
Richard Jackson	6 January 1633	
John Bogett	9 September 1633	
Richard Bogett	9 September 1633	
Daniel Elder	2 March 1634	
Elizabeth Baillie	4 January 1635	
Mary Baillie	4 January 1635	
John Geddes	18 October 1635	
William Jackson	25 March 1638	
John Andrews	5 August 1638	
Roger Jackson	9 January 1642	
Richard Young	5 June 1642	
Margaret Massie	31 December 1645	
Stephen Marshall	29 April 1646	
Leonard Scott	21 July 1646	
John Durie	30 December 1646	Scottish Theologian.
Peter Watson	30 December 1646	
James Stewart	7 November 1647	
Richard More	3 November 1649	
Sibylla Shaw	2 March 1650	
John Crawford	4 May 1650	
Mr Jollye	4 May 1650	
Richard Lawton	27 May 1651	
Thomas Young	31 July 1653	
John Gordon	30 March 1655	Scottish Officer.
Alexander Leslie	3 January 1657	Scottish Officer.
Nicolas Andrew	3 January 1657	
Jane Andrew		
William Poppel	3 July 1657	Possibly identical to a Scottish merchant in Bordeaux.
Major Cunningham	3 October 1657	Scottish Officer.
John Lorimer	3 October 1657	
John Gilbert	2 January 1658	
Robert Bute	1 January 1659	
Lieutenant Anderson	7 October 1660	
James Coutts	28 September 1663	
Hannah Baillie		
Nathaniel Watson	9 April 1664	
Elizabeth Watson	31 December 1668	
Alexander Hamilton	16 February 1682	

Table (*cont.*)

Name	Date	Identity/Profession
? Stevenson	3 April 1687	
Thomas Matterson (Matheson?)	15 January 1701	
James Reid	12 December 1715	
Robert Barclay	16 December 1726	Scottish Merchant.
Rebecca Stuart	9 August 1731	
John Ouchterlony	2 November 1733	
William Murray	23 August 1737	Scottish Minister.

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL AND MILITARY NETWORKS C. 1630–1707

Briteannia ist mein patria, darin ich geboren sey
(James King, Hamburg, 1641)¹

Stuart Diplomats and Scottish Officers in Hamburg

As the 1603 regal union had brought the three kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland under the rule of the same monarch, Scottish and English diplomats found themselves engaged on the same side on the wider political stage. This saw the evolution of a particularly Scottish-Stuart diplomatic corps operating in Northern Europe.² It is debatable whether all the Stuart diplomats working for King James VI/I evolved a 'British' consciousness and allowed their Scottish or English nationality to be subsumed by a common identity.³ However, there is evidence that in Hamburg some Scots and Englishmen appear to have done just that.

Hamburg's role as a hub for intelligence was recognised by King James and his successors and it was the English company of Merchant Adventurers which was to play a major role in the Stuarts' diplomatic network. This role obviously involved the accommodation of ambassadors and envoys and the furtherance of their duties through financial support and accommodation. Members of the company themselves also took on a diplomatic role at certain times, either when there was no ambassador present or when the diplomacy to be undertaken required a merchant consul rather than a high profile diplomat.

In 1612 the Englishman Joseph Averie was elected secretary of the company—an office which initially served as a main point of contact between the Stuart Crown and Hamburg's senate.⁴ Furthermore, it included communication with British diplomats and officers inside and outside the city.

¹ RAOSB, vol. 9, 959, James King to Axel Oxenstierna, Hamburg, July 1641; Murdoch, 'Diplomacy in Transition', 5.

² Murdoch, 'Diplomacy in Transition', 93–114.

³ Murdoch, *Network North*, 63–73.

⁴ TNA, SP75/5 fol. 245–246, James VI/I, Instruction of a Letter Concerning Averie, without place or date (early 1621).

One of these was the Scot Sir Robert Anstruther, who served as a senior British diplomat to Denmark-Norway and to the Hanseatic towns for both James VI and I and Charles I. Anstruther had won credentials as Stuart diplomat on various missions. These included his participation in negotiations which resulted in a Danish-Norwegian, British and Dutch military alliance in November 1621.⁵ In addition, Christian IV chose Anstruther as his representative on diplomatic missions to the Winter King Frederick V (1624) and to John George of Saxony (1625).⁶

Anstruther moved to Hamburg in 1624, where he was joined by his English wife Catherine Swift and her servants two years later.⁷ Another wave of servants arrived from the British Isles in the spring of 1627, when Catherine was expecting a child.⁸ The couple kept in close contact with the Merchant Adventurers and it was in their congregation that their sycophantically named son Christianus was baptised on 12 July 1627.⁹ It is possible that relatives of Catherine stayed in Hamburg and lodged at Anstruther's house. Certainly a man called James Swift was registered as a communicant of the 'English' church in 1631.¹⁰ Anstruther's move to Hamburg signified the start of a crucial period of network building within the city in the diplomatic, military and political spheres. His presence certainly brought more Scots and Englishmen into the city—among them his Scottish chaplain Sampson Johnson and his English secretary Richard Hurst who lived under his roof.¹¹ Over the years Anstruther's household became a focal point within the city with Stuart subjects and officers of various nations paying their respects.¹² In addition, the Stuart diplomat acquired an esteemed position within the local societies inside and outside Hamburg which required him to attend and/or perform a number of christenings and weddings, not only at the Adventurers' church but also

⁵ Murdoch, 'Anstruther', (online publication).

⁶ Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 39.

⁷ Catherine Swift, her son William and 18 servants had received passes in 1626 to travel to the United Provinces. From there they continued to Hamburg. *APC*, June–December 1626, 30, Pass for Catherine Swift, 26 June 1626.

⁸ *APC*, January–August 1627, 65, Passes for Clemant Messerve, George Rivers, Thomas Jones, 16 February 1627; *APC*, 1627, 198, Pass for a servant/nanny, 5 April 1627.

⁹ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 12 July 1627.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3 July 1631.

¹¹ *APC*, June 1630–June 1631, 263, Passes for Sampson Johnson and Richard Hurst, 19 March 1631; TNA, SP 75/10, fol. 130, Anstruther to Roe, 6 May 1631.

¹² TNA, SP75/11 fol. 284–285, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 30 December 1630.

in other religious communities.¹³ As indicated in chapter 1, Anstruther played a significant role in negotiations with the Danish-Norwegian king and with local authorities in regard to the conflict on the river Elbe and the war against the Imperial forces.¹⁴ Between 1624 and 1626 Anstruther was especially busy enquiring about and winning support for the Protestant cause from the Duke of Holstein, the Bishop of Bremen and the cities of Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck, although his success was limited.¹⁵ His talks required frequent travels through the wider Elbe-Weser region: we often find Anstruther outside Hamburg in places like Rotenburg (Bremen *Stift*), Glückstadt, Altona and Neumühlen. Apart from his dealings with the local authorities, Anstruther was in close contact with English and Scottish soldiers and officers who were fighting for Christian IV and the cause of the Stuart Princes Elizabeth who had married the 'Winter King' Frederick V.¹⁶ Among the first troops to arrive were 1,500 Scottish and 1,000 English soldiers recruited by Colonel Andrew Gray who set sail for Hamburg in May 1620 from where they were to join the troops of the Palatinate.¹⁷ Their arrival was noted by Duke Friedrich of Holstein-Gottorp who informed one of his siblings that 3,500 English troops were to march through the district of Reinbek, in the immediate vicinity of Hamburg.¹⁸ It is not clear if additional soldiers had joined the forces in Hamburg or if the duke had simply received wrong information regarding their numbers. What is interesting to note is that he did not differentiate between the Scottish and English forces but subsumed them all under the term 'English'.

Whereas Anstruther missed the arrival of these troops, he kept a close eye on Charles Morgan's English regiments and Mackay's Scottish regiment, who were stationed in the region in 1627 and in 1629.¹⁹ Recognising the importance of the English and Scottish troops for the outcome of

¹³ Ibid. For example, in 1630 Anstruther was invited to christen the Duke of Mecklenburg's children at Lübeck.

¹⁴ See chapter 1.

¹⁵ TNA, SP75/6, fol. 4–5, Anstruther to Carlton, Fredericksborg, 13 January 1624; SP75/6 fol. 109–110, Anstruther to ?, without place and date; SP75/6, fol. 178–183, Anstruther to Conway, Altona, 12 October 1625; SP75/6 fol. 32–33, Anstruther to Conway, Altona, 23 February 1626.

¹⁶ For information on the role of Scottish soldiers in Danish service see Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 187–222.

¹⁷ *RPCS, First Series*, 1619–1622, 255; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 49–50.

¹⁸ LAS, Abteilung 7, No. 3347, Friedrich to ?, Lauenburg, 1 June 1620.

¹⁹ See chapter 1.

the conflict in Northwest Germany and the protection of the Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg, the Stuart diplomat negotiated with Christian IV for their better treatment, albeit without success.²⁰ In October 1627 Christian and his main army had retired to Danish territories, escaping the Imperial forces and leaving Morgan's troops behind to defend Stade, Buxtehude, Bremerförde on the southern side of the Elbe and Glückstadt and Krempe on the northern side. According to Anstruther, Christian IV's absence seriously worsened conditions for these troops and he reported Scottish soldiers dying in the streets of hunger and exposure and also of English and Scottish soldiers begging at the Merchant Adventurers' house for alms.²¹ Some of these men were apparently bribed by Imperial officers to leave the Protestant army and were thus removed from Hamburg and the city's vicinity.²² In order to prevent more troops from deserting and to enhance their ability to fight, Anstruther acquired the aforementioned 13,000 Imperial dollars from the Merchant Adventurers which were delivered to Stade.²³ However, Anstruther's role did not only encompass relief and care of the soldiers in distress. When General Morgan fell ill and was treated at the city of Bremen, the Stuart diplomat temporarily took over the command of the troops. In order to be able to make crucial decisions in regard to Morgan's soldiers, Anstruther maintained close links with Scottish and English officers. For example, in November 1628 he accommodated Sir Thomas Conway in his own house.²⁴ Conway acted as colonel in one of Morgan's regiments and was a relative of Anstruther's correspondence partner Edward Conway (first Viscount Conway). During this stay, Conway, Morgan (who was then residing in Hamburg) and Anstruther discussed the situation of the troops at length and Anstruther forwarded information on the state of the regiments back to the appropriate authorities in England.²⁵

Joseph Averie, the secretary of the Merchant Adventurers and occasional correspondence partner of the Stuart government, was excluded from these discussions and other diplomatic business Anstruther conducted in and around Hamburg. This was not least, as both Anstruther

²⁰ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 202–203, Anstruther to ?, Hamburg, 11 July 1627.

²¹ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 338–339, Anstruther to Carleton, Hamburg, 4 October 1627; SP75/8 fol. 398–408, Anstruther to Conway, Hamburg, 30 November 1627.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ TNA, SP75/8 fol. 398–408, Anstruther to Conway, Hamburg, 30 November 1627.

²⁴ TNA, SP75/9 fol. 299–300, Anstruther to Conway, Hamburg, 17 November 1628.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

(and Morgan) had severe reservations over his abilities.²⁶ However, from January 1629 Anstruther could not ignore Averie any longer as he received a request from the new secretary of state, Dudley Carleton (Viscount Dorchester) to involve the Englishman in his affairs. The occasion for Dorchester's letter was a required journey to Christian IV's court. The viscount asked Anstruther specifically to either send Averie to the Danish king or to acquaint him with his business in Hamburg, so that the Adventurer could replace Anstruther should he wish to visit the Danish king himself.²⁷ Faced with these two options, Anstruther asked Averie to travel to Copenhagen.²⁸ However, Averie excused himself as the route between Hamburg and Lübeck and through the Baltic had become dangerous due to the presence of Imperial troops.²⁹ This gave Anstruther the opportunity to dispatch his own servant (whose identity we do not know), an action which implied that the journey was manageable and that Averie had shied away from serving the Stuart monarch.³⁰ Averie tried to justify his remaining at Hamburg to Dorchester and stated that Anstruther should have chosen to go to Copenhagen himself in the first place as he was already acquainted with the Danish king.³¹ He furthermore suspected that Anstruther harboured jealous feelings against him as he (Averie) had provided numerous letters of intelligence to Dorchester. It remains unclear how justified these accusations were, but it is likely that the tensions between Averie and Anstruther increased in the months after these events unfolded. This was not least as English merchants were directed to the Stuart diplomat (and not to Averie or other Adventurers) for advice. These traders included the likes of Rowland Pittes, Charles I's 'Purveyor of Sea Fish' whom Anstruther helped to source sturgeon in Hamburg in April 1629.³²

Despite Anstruther's apparent dislike for him, Averie was formally appointed to replace the Stuart diplomat when he prepared to leave Hamburg after the conclusion of the Treaty of Lübeck (22 May 1629).³³ Unsurprisingly, Averie reported that Anstruther was not happy with his (Averie's) employment. According to him, Anstruther resented the fact

²⁶ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 51–52, Morgan to Dorchester, Hamburg, 21 February 1629.

²⁷ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 19–20, (Dorchester) to Anstruther, without place, 26 January 1629.

²⁸ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 47, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 21 February/3 March 1629.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 49–50, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 21 February 1629.

³¹ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 55–56, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 27 February 1629.

³² APC, July 1628–April 1629, 93–94, 413–414; Murdoch, *Network North*, 155.

³³ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 342–343, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 18 November 1629.

that he had not been given the opportunity to transfer his office to a fellow countryman, i.e. a Scot, or to another preferred candidate.³⁴ It is certainly interesting that Averie referred to Anstruther's alleged preference of a Scottish successor. However, given the diplomat's intense dealings with Scots, Welsh- and Englishmen, it is more likely that Anstruther was unsatisfied with Averie's appointment for other reasons. During the period just before and after the Treaty of Lübeck Danish-Stuart relations were marked by some difficulties, which partially derived from Christian IV's perception that Charles I had not fully delivered his promised support for the Protestant cause and the Danish army.³⁵ In this climate, Anstruther felt the need to personally continue negotiations with Christian IV rather than to leave these to a relative novice in diplomatic affairs. Thus, after hearing that Averie was to take over his position, Anstruther delayed his departure from Hamburg, stating that he wished to bid farewell to Christian IV (who was expected in Holstein) and also due to the fact that there was a lack of shipping during the winter months.³⁶ Anstruther thus stayed in Hamburg until July 1630 where he became heavily involved in the negotiations for the abolishment of the Elbe toll which seriously impinged upon the activities of the Merchant Adventurers.³⁷ It was only in August 1630 that Anstruther departed from the city when the discussions regarding the duties on the Elbe were moved to the Imperial diet at Ratisbon.³⁸

Upon his return, Anstruther's attitude to Averie changed, perhaps as he saw the necessity to train a successor for the time when he was to leave Hamburg again, either temporarily or permanently.³⁹ In January 1631 the Scot met the Danish secretary Fredrick Günther and acquainted him with Averie, who was to familiarise himself with the on-going negotiations regarding the toll on the Elbe.⁴⁰ Anstruther also sent Averie to the Hamburg authorities to inform them of their forthcoming journey and to persuade them to make concessions to the Danish crown.⁴¹ In addition, Averie received specific instructions from Charles I's ambassador-

³⁴ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 346–347, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 25 November/5 December 1629.

³⁵ Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 72.

³⁶ TNA, SP75/10 fol. 405–406, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, December 1629.

³⁷ TNA, SP75/11, fol. 39–195, various letters, Anstruther to Dorchester/Roe, Hamburg, April–July 1630.

³⁸ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 222–223, Averie to Dorchester, 4/14 August 1630.

³⁹ Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 72.

⁴⁰ TNA, SP75/12 fol. 28–29, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 23 January 1631.

⁴¹ TNA, SP75/12 fol. 3–4, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 11/21 January 1631.

extraordinary to Copenhagen, Sir Henry Vane, on how to negotiate with Christian IV and his representatives, after Vane had been refused an audience with the Danish king.⁴² Two years later Averie even witnessed negotiations between Anstruther and Christian IV at Glückstadt which dealt with a possible exemption of the Merchant Adventurers from the Elbe toll.⁴³ In 1636 Averie and the Stuart diplomat Henry de Vic went on a mission into Denmark-Norway and thereafter maintained a joint diplomatic correspondence with the Stuart government from Hamburg.⁴⁴ Averie was thus more and more drawn into the work of the Stuart diplomatic corps on the continent. However, when the secretary launched his own attempt to persuade the Danish monarch to suspend the tolls for the Merchant Adventurers, he was told off for his actions by the new Secretary of State, Sir John Coke, for not having received proper royal authority to treat with the Danish monarch.⁴⁵ Instead Averie was told that he should have sent Sir Henry the Vic, the official Stuart representative at Hamburg.⁴⁶ This letter reveals Averie's semi-official status. The Adventurer was clearly needed as a permanent representative at the diplomatic hub at the Elbe, but not allowed to treat on his own account when this was avoidable. It is hard to judge why this was the case. It is possible that Coke and others mistrusted Averie's abilities in general. Alternatively, Coke and others may have perceived Averie's commercial background as an obstacle. Nevertheless, the fact that Averie was included in diplomatic businesses in the first place demonstrates his importance for the Stuart cause, albeit not at the highest level.

The limited use of Averie seems to have been a mistake, as the Englishman proved himself as a skilled and trustworthy agent in subsequent years. Even before Anstruther begun to support his career, the secretary of the Merchant Adventurers maintained an unofficial circle of correspondents. These included a Scotsman at the Danish court in Copenhagen (not Anstruther) who submitted some highly sensitive information to Averie, whilst drawing on their long-standing relationship.⁴⁷ Through Anstruther and other Stuart representatives, Averie also became acquainted with a number of English and Scottish soldiers and officers who frequented the

⁴² Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 75.

⁴³ TNA, SP75/12 fol. 82–83, Anstruther to Dorchester, Hamburg, 14/24 September 1633.

⁴⁴ Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 84.

⁴⁵ TNA, SP75/14 fol. 325–327, Averie to (John Coke), Hamburg, 16/26 September 1637; TNA, SP75/14 fol. 368–369, Coke to Averie, London, October 1637.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ TNA, SP75/12 fol. 171, Averie to Secretary of State, Hamburg, 18/28 July 1631.

wider Elbe-Weser region after Sweden's intervention in the Thirty Years' War in 1630. Some of these troops had transferred from Danish into Swedish service whereas others arrived directly from the British Isles.⁴⁸ In September/ October 1630 Averie observed the presence of two Scottish colonels in Hamburg who were raising two regiments to be sent to a muster point in Lauenburg.⁴⁹ These colonels were almost certainly Sir John Seton and a Scot called John R. Monro who Averie mentioned later as raising levies within the region.⁵⁰ Whereas he initially had no direct dealings with these men, Averie met with various Scottish and English envoys who passed through Hamburg. One of these was a Mr Rankin who was en route to Sweden with letters written by Charles II to Gustav Adolf.⁵¹ In addition, Averie met Major-General Alexander Leslie when the officer stayed in Hamburg before the Swedish occupation of Bremen *Stift*.⁵² Leslie had arrived on the continent with a large army of Scottish, English and Irish soldiers (known to have reached up to 8,000 men in strength) under the nominal command of the Marquis of Hamilton (with actual responsibility devolved to Leslie).⁵³ He was to play a significant role within the region. Leslie had been ordered to take over the command of the Swedish army in Bremen from General Åke Tott.⁵⁴ However this was delayed as Leslie received an injury at the siege of Buxtehude, which he was forced to have seen to at Hamburg, an incident lamented by the army's officers who allegedly perceived Leslie as a more skillful commander than the Swede.⁵⁵ By December 1632 this was partially confirmed when he took command of the Swedish troops stationed at Bremen *Stift* and when he was later made field marshal of the Swedish 'Army of the Weser' (1636).⁵⁶

⁴⁸ For information of Scots in Swedish service during this period see Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 74–108.

⁴⁹ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 256–257, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 27 September/ 7 October 1630.

⁵⁰ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 264–265, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 26 October/ 6 November 1630.

⁵¹ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 272–273, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 17/27 November 1630. He was very probably Archibald Rankin of the James Spens spy network. Murdoch, *Network North*, 272–6.

⁵² NAS, Hamilton Papers, GD406/1/9322, Alexander Leslie to the Marquis of Hamilton, Hamburg, 12 May 1631.

⁵³ TNA, SP75/12 fol. 341–342, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 6/16 March 1632; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 75–76, 88–90.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ TNA, SP75/12 fol. 454–455, Averie to Dorchester, Hamburg, 18/28 December 1632; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 91–92.

During this period Leslie frequently visited Hamburg where he exchanged information with Averie.⁵⁷ He also encouraged the Englishman to pay a visit to Axel Oxentierne.⁵⁸ Averie had met with the Swedish chancellor as early as 1635 and their acquaintance had almost certainly been initiated by Leslie, signifying Averie's approval in the highest Swedish political circle.⁵⁹ Leslie was thus undoubtedly a significant contact for Averie and vice versa. In addition, the Adventurer communicated with a number of other Scottish officers and envoys who called into Hamburg on their own military business (recruiting and buying provisions). Averie received a considerable amount of intelligence from Scottish officers such as Colonel George Douglas, Colonel John and General Patrick Ruthven, Major David Drummond, and Major-General James King during their visits to the city or through their correspondence.⁶⁰ These men, already shown to have been proactive in the formation of a pan-British military identity while serving in the Swedish army, would have influenced Averie's own views on concepts of 'Britishness'.⁶¹ Averie's correspondence from 1629 and 1631 reveals that he initially made a clear distinction between Englishmen and Scots. However, from the mid-1630 there is a marked change in that Averie started to perceive English and Scottish officers as belonging to the same nation. In a letter to Secretary John Coke he wrote that 'two Colonells of our Nation, namely 'Colonell Aston, and Colonell Lumsden' had been wounded.⁶² Since Lumsden was a Scot and Aston an Englishman Averie must have referred to a 'British' nation in this context. Other letters contain similar references. For example, when the body of the Scottish colonel George Douglas was brought to the city of Hamburg Averie stated expressly that it had been accompanied by 'the Colonells, Captaines & others wch were here present of our owne Nation'.⁶³ As Douglas's train

⁵⁷ TNA, SP75/13 fol. 295–297, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 15/25 February 1636.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ TNA, SP75/13 fol. 245, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 30 June 1635.

⁶⁰ TNA, SP75/13 fol. 259, Averie to Coke, Hamburg 10/20 October 1635; SP 75/13 fol. 285, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 31 December 1635. These Scots feature frequently in Averie's correspondence since 1634. Together with the English Colonel Aston they were Averie's main suppliers of intelligence.

⁶¹ For a full argument on British identity see Steve Murdoch, 'James VI and the Formation of a Scottish-British Military Identity', in Murdoch and Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity*, 3–31.

⁶² TNA, SP75/9 fol. 259, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 10/20 October 1635; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 19.

⁶³ TNA, SP75/13 fol. 315–316, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 8/18 April 1636.

included a number of Scots (including some of his relatives) Averie must have referred to an overarching, 'British' nation.

A dispute between the city of Hamburg and a group of Scottish privateers in which Averie became involved as a main intermediary may also have influenced his 'British' outlook. From 1628 a reprisal war had developed between Hamburg and Scotland which lasted until approximately 1643.⁶⁴ One of the main protagonists in the dispute, Captain David Robertson, arrived in Hamburg and found an ally in Averie, who wrote 'A Scots gent arrived here lately and I will not fail to assist him with his business in the senate with all diligence and endeavour.'⁶⁵ As has been noted elsewhere, Averie proceeded to act 'on behalf of a Scottish Privateer, Captain Robertson, via an envoy of the Scottish Privy Council, Mr Colville, on the orders of the English Secretary of State' in a thoroughly British encounter.⁶⁶

Subsequent to his British epiphany, Averie acted as a contact in financial transactions and personal business for Scots in the city. For example, when the aforementioned George Douglas died suddenly in Pomerania, his body was brought into Hamburg in 1636 by several British officers.⁶⁷ After the corpse had been laid in state in the cathedral, Averie took care of Douglas's estate, deciding among other things to send his servants home to either England or Scotland in order to avoid mounting costs which Averie was obliged to cover. Averie also instructed Douglas's secretary, a man called Fowler, to send Douglas's remaining papers and letters to England.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Averie dealt with the payment of some of the Scottish officers in Swedish service, including Lieutenant-General Alexander Forbes (the 11th Lord Forbes) and John R. Monro as well as

⁶⁴ TNA, SP75/11 fol. 233–235, Averie to (Dorchester), Hamburg 18 August/8 September 1630; For a detailed account of the reprisal war see Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas?*, 181–186.

⁶⁵ TNA, SP75/13 fol. 233–235, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 2/12 December 1634; See also StAH, Senat, 111–1 Cl. VI no. 2, vol. 1, fasc. 1a, in vol. 5, Documents Relating to David Robertson, c. 1632–1633. The file has recently been lost within the archives.

⁶⁶ Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 19.

⁶⁷ TNA, SP75/13 fol. 301–302, Averie to Coke, Hamburg, 12/22 March 1636; SP75/13 fol. 315–316, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 8/18 April 1636.

⁶⁸ TNA, SP75/13 fol. 315, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 8/18 April 1636; TNA, SP75/13 fol. 323, Averie to (Coke), Hamburg, 28 April/8 May 1636. Fowler is described as the 'Dutch secretary' of George Douglas indicating his role as interpreter or scribe for the German language. Douglas's secretary, Fowler, could have been identical to or a relative of Robert Fowler who received communion in the English church at Hamburg. StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 1 July 1626.

providing conscription money to Scottish officers.⁶⁹ Most importantly, Colonel Patrick Ruthven even trusted Averie with full powers to negotiate and treat with Axel Oxenstierna on his (Ruthven's) behalf in relation to his estates in Sweden.⁷⁰ In addition to these responsibilities and as previously mentioned, Averie assisted in at least one financial transaction involving Scottish merchants.⁷¹ These details reveal that Averie and the English Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg, had been drawn into close contact with a number of Scots from the financial, mercantile, military and diplomatic spheres. They were dealing with a Scot who was also a British and Danish ambassador with an English wife as well as with Scots fighting in the Swedish army for a British princess—and all in an Imperial city, claimed by the Danish monarch. The permeability of political boundaries is obvious.

In addition to the aforementioned examples, Anstruther and Averie almost certainly maintained contacts with a number of Scottish officers and officials who had dealings with Hamburg merchants and other officials, although we have yet to acquire substantive proof for these connections. For example, Peter Forbes who was factor of the armoury of the Swedish army and based at Elbing received credit from several Hamburg traders in the early 1630s. In addition he had a factor in the city who administered his trade relations with the Italian states.⁷² When Forbes sojourned to Hamburg in 1633 he probably met with these merchants.⁷³ Furthermore, the Scottish colonel Patrick Hay married Dorothy Pleizin, a Dutch citizen at Hamburg, who was closely related to the Hamburg senator, Albert van Eitzen.⁷⁴ Hay had deposited his estate worth 46,000 Imperial dollars in the latter's hands by the time of his death in April 1639. Thereafter, his widow and Eitzen took possession of this money—an action they tried to justify under the false pretence of Pleizin being pregnant and by drawing up a false will. This resulted in a legal battle between the city of Hamburg and Patrick Hay's brother James and two of his seven daughters which dragged

⁶⁹ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E588, Thomas Dishington to Oxenstierna, without date or place; E661, John R. Monro to Oxenstierna, London, 26 April 1637; E601, Alexander Forbes to Oxenstierna, 6 April 1637.

⁷⁰ RAOSB, Patrick Ruthven to Oxenstierna, Hamburg, 26 April 1636.

⁷¹ NAS, Smythe Family Papers, GD190/3/151/3, Averie to ?, Hamburg, 29 November 1639; GD190/3/234/3, Court Warnke to William Stirling, Bremen, 18 March 1640.

⁷² SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E601, Peter Forbes to Oxenstierna, Elbing, October 1628.

⁷³ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E601, Peter Forbes to Oxenstierna, Hamburg, 20 March 1633.

⁷⁴ CSPD, 1676–1677, 511, John Dickson to Williamson, without place, 17 January 1677.

on at least until the 1680s.⁷⁵ There were also more significant problems, not least as a result of the political divisions arising from the British Civil Wars (1639–1660).

Royalists, Stuart Supporters and Covenanters

In the late 1630s tensions arose between the Scottish Covenanters and Charles I, eventually leading to the Bishops' Wars (1639–1641), in which the British monarch received a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Scottish Covenanters. The Bishops' Wars contributed to the destabilisation of the Stuart Kingdoms, sparking a series of civil wars throughout them.⁷⁶ These events in the British Isles impacted significantly on Scottish and British interests in the Elbe-Weser region, through the movement of troops and supplies home, the search for weapons and the diplomatic discussions occasioned by the Hamburg congress.

During this time of turmoil, Hamburg continued to play an important role as a transit point for Scots, many of whom were quitting service in the European armies to participate on their chosen side at home. For example, we know that Captain James Lumsden, Captain David Leslie, Captain George Monro and twenty other Scottish officers (whose names are unknown) embarked at Hamburg to sail to Britain in order to fight for the Covenanters in 1640.⁷⁷ Not all the Scottish officers involved in the military affairs on the continent returned to Scotland, though they often participated in the conflict at some level. As a known weapons entrepôt, Hamburg obviously attracted those in search of arms. In 1638 Lieutenant-General James King arrived in Hamburg with his wife. He stayed for two years ostensibly to gather political support and war supplies for Charles I from the city and neighbouring territories.⁷⁸ King and a group of other

⁷⁵ Ibid.; CSPD, 1677–1678, 492, Order in Council, Whitehall, 5 December 1677; RPCS, *Third Series*, 1681–1682, 289, Supplication by Elisabeth Hay, without place/date; SP 82 vol. 16, fol. 145–146, Peter Wyche to Hamburg Senate, Hamburg, 3/13 August 1680 and fol. 153–159, Peter Wyche to ?, Hamburg, 17/27 August 1680. For more information on this case see Hitzgrath, *Die politischen Beziehungen*, 41–42.

⁷⁶ Macinnes, *The British Revolution*, (Basingstoke, 2004), 111–193; David Scott, 'The Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1642–1649', in Barry Coward (ed.), *A Companion to Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 2003), 311–330.

⁷⁷ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, William Wimes to Oxenstierna, without date/place. Captain James Lumsden even asked for his Swedish pension to be paid to him through Salvius, the Swedish resident in Hamburg. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 182.

⁷⁸ James King's wife gave birth to a daughter in Hamburg in 1640. CSPD, 1640–1641, 344, Durie to Roe, Hamburg, 3 July 1640.

Scottish officers signed a document in 1639 in Hamburg, which confirmed that arms bought by Sir Thomas Roe were ready for the service of Charles I.⁷⁹ It was here that he declared in 1641 that 'Briteannia ist mein patria, darin ich geboren sey', i.e. 'Britain is my fatherland, where I was born' and appeared to be signalling his absolute loyalty to Charles I's cause.⁸⁰

It was not only the Royalists who were trying to purchase arms in Hamburg; the Scottish Covenanters also attempted to secure munitions in the city. This led the Marquis of Hamilton to write to Charles I, making it clear that action should be taken to prevent any supplies reaching the king's enemies from the city.⁸¹ Perhaps more interestingly, both Scottish Covenanters and Royalists were in the city at the same time without any obvious sign of animosity between them. Some of these relations can perhaps be explained by an 'alliance' between the Royalist general and diplomat James King and the Covenanter Alexander Leslie which left King's mission at Hamburg suspiciously unsuccessful.⁸² There is no evidence that the contesting groups of Scottish officers noted above actually met in the streets in the winter months of 1639/40. But it is known that important figures from both camps did meet and discuss the political situation at length. For example, the man who had done most to promote the cause of the Scottish Covenanters among the northern potentates and city-states was Colonel John Cochrane.⁸³ On 24 October 1640 James King wrote of Cochrane:

Since my arrival heir at Hambourrie it was my fortune to encounter with a gentellman, a countryman and auld acquaintance of mine, callit Colonell Cochroane a Gentellman who heath ben imployit by the Scotts to Establishe

⁷⁹ TNA, SP 81/47 fol. 102, Certificate of General King upon arms sent to England, Hamburg, 28 June 1639. The other officers included Colonel Francis Ruthven, Lieutenant-Colonel James King (a relative of the general), Colonel John Leslie, Lieutenant-Colonel John Chamberlain, Colonel Henry Gladstone (Gladstein), Captain William Ogilvie, Captain Richard Shorland and Captain Bryan Stapleton. These may be some of the arms Roe bought in Hamburg from Albert Bernes including 1500 pikemen's arms, 700 arms for horsemen, 1500 muskets and bandoliers, 700 pistols and holsters and ammunition. See TNA, SP81/45, Manifest of Arms, Hamburg, 13 April 1639.

⁸⁰ *RAOSB*, vol. 9, 959, James King to Oxenstierna, Hamburg, July 1641; Murdoch, 'James VI and the Formation of a Scottish-British Military Identity', 5.

⁸¹ NAS, Hamilton Papers, GD406/1/10491, Marquis of Hamilton to Charles I, Dalkeith, 24 June 1638.

⁸² Murdoch, *Network North*, 43–48.

⁸³ Alexia Grosjean, 'General Alexander Leslie, the Scottish Covenanters and the Riksråd Debates, 1638–1640', in Macinnes, Riis and Pedersen (eds.), *Ships, Guns and Bibles*, 115–130.

ther intelligence in the nichtbouring nations and to whom the wholl secrets of ther designs are committit.⁸⁴

It is clear that this meeting had serious implications for future relations between the Royalists and the erstwhile Covenanter ambassador. Indeed it has been argued that it was during this meeting in Hamburg that Cochrane 'turned' to the Stuart cause, albeit he kept this a secret until the following year.⁸⁵ But it does open the question of whether Hamburg was deliberately chosen as the place to meet, being regarded as some kind of neutral venue. On the other hand it is possible that officers and soldiers on both sides were able to avoid each other within the city simply due to its vast size but with the exception of Cochrane and King we cannot yet say for certain.

Once the conflict between Charles I and the English Parliament broke out, Hamburg was still targeted by contesting British factions as a source of supplies and a place of retreat for exiles. In 1644, following the defeat of Royalist troops at the battle of Marston Moor, a group consisting of up to 180 Scottish and English Royalists arrived in Hamburg, among them Lieutenant-General James King and Colonel Sir William Vavasour.⁸⁶ Those who remained in the city were joined in 1646 by Sir John Cochrane, now firmly in the Royalist camp as an envoy to Denmark-Norway and various Imperial duchies since 1643. The aim of his visit to Hamburg was once more to gather troops and arms for Charles I. Apart from organising canons through Bernard Frise, the factor of Duke James of Courland, and after negotiations with Christian IV, Cochrane received arms and ammunition from the Danish arsenal in Glückstadt.⁸⁷ These were worth 29,300 Imperial dollars, and organised via the Berns & Marselis consortium.⁸⁸ Furthermore, Cochrane was mustering troops and organising ships for their transport with the assistance of his old confederate, James King.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ TNA, SP75/15 fol. 475, James King to Charles I, Hamburg, 24 October 1640; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 117–118.

⁸⁵ Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 118–120.

⁸⁶ HP3/2/45A–46B, Durie to (Samuel) Hartlib, 28 July 1644; Peter Young, *Marston Moor 1644: The Campaign and the Battle* (Kineton, 1970), 176.

⁸⁷ Morlund-Simpson (ed.), *Civil War Papers 1643–1650*, 160–165, John Cochrane to Duke James, Hamburg, 4 February 1646 and Copenhagen, 2/12 May 1646.

⁸⁸ John T. Lauridsen, *Marselis Konsortiet* (Århus, 1987), 88, 132; H.W. Meikle (ed.), *Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London 1644–1646* (Edinburgh, 1917), 199, Scots Commissioners to the Committee of Estates in Edinburgh, 9 July 1646.

⁸⁹ H.W. Meikle (ed.), *Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London*, 198, Scots Commissioners to the Committee of Estates in Edinburgh, 7 July 1646.

After the execution of Charles I in 1649, Cochrane returned again to Hamburg, where the atmosphere among the Merchant Adventurers had become violent due to the splitting of company members into factions supporting either the Royalist side or the English Parliament.⁹⁰ As has been pointed out, Cochrane became embroiled in clashes with the merchants, infamously beating up some English republicans in the streets.⁹¹ At the same time Cochrane sought to win the senate of Hamburg for his cause, not least to support and protect the Royalist merchants among the Adventurers. To this end he demanded and was granted a public audience but the senate decided to remain neutral in the conflict.⁹² Cochrane also initiated an incident in which three Merchant Adventurers who supported the English Parliament (Henry Crispe, Robert Palmer and a man whose identity we do not know) were kidnapped with the help of Danish officers and soldiers at Pinneberg, and kept in a ship on the river Elbe.⁹³ They were eventually freed by fellow company members and some of the kidnappers were imprisoned at Hamburg. The captain of the ship, John Cochrane's brother, was killed during the incident and later buried outside the city walls.⁹⁴ The aim of Cochrane's activity had been to press the Merchant Adventurers for a sum of 30,000 Imperial dollars which were to satisfy Cochrane's debts at Hamburg and to fund diplomatic journeys into Denmark-Norway and into the Holy Roman Empire.⁹⁵ As his plan had failed, Cochrane's enemies hoped that he would have to abort his

⁹⁰ TNA, SP82/7, fol. 108, John Cochrane to Isaac Lee, Hamburg, June 1649. Joseph Averie wrote to Thomas Roe that although the majority of the merchants were loyal to the king they had been forced to join the Parliamentarians. See TNA, SP 75/16, fol. 178, Averie to Roe, Hamburg, 10/20 November 1643.

⁹¹ TNA, SP82/7, fol. 139–140, Parliament to Hamburg, London, 11 August 1649; J.N.M. Maclean, 'Montrose's preparations for the invasion of Scotland, and Royalist mission to Sweden, 1649–1651', in R. Hutton and M. Anderson (eds.), *Studies of Diplomatic History* (London, 1970), 14; Thomas Ollive Mabbott (ed.), *The State Papers of John Milton* (New York, 1937), 4–9, Parliament to Hamburg Senate, Westminster, 10 August 1649; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 148.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 127–128, Isaac Lee to John Bradshaw, Hamburg, 27 July 1649; Morland-Simpson (ed.), *Civil War Papers 1643–1650* (Edinburgh, 1893), 183, 'Sir John Cochrane's relations of the particulars that have occurred in his negotiation since his coming to Hamborgh', 1649; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 148.

⁹⁴ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 127–128, Isaac Lee to John Bradshaw, Hamburg, 27 July 1649; Morland-Simpson (ed.), *Civil War Papers 1643–1650* (Edinburgh, 1893), 183, 'Sir John Cochrane's relations of the particulars that have occurred in his negotiation since his coming to Hamborgh', 1649.

⁹⁵ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 131, (Henry) Crispe to (Walter) Frost, Hamburg, 3 August 1649.

mission.⁹⁶ Surviving reports on the degree of assistance given to the liberators of the ship by Hamburg's officials contain conflicting information. Whereas Cochrane stated that the authorities had helped the 'rebels' to man two vessels with two hundred musketeers, the council of state complained that they had not given any assistance at all and expressed fears that the prisoners would be released due to pressure exerted by Cochrane, termed by them as a 'pest to human society'.⁹⁷ Perhaps this was because Cochrane recommended that the king should demand the release of the prisoners and declare war against Hamburg to frighten the Hamburgers and make them pay a ransom to the king.⁹⁸ The above events and statements reveal the desperation of both parties to win control over the situation at Hamburg highlighting the strategic significance of the city. As the latter's interest was mainly concerned with the security of public order and with being on the right side at the end of the conflict, the authorities appear to have maintained a neutral stance trying not to offend any party—yet obviously allowing the presence of both factions within their territory.⁹⁹ Both sets of belligerents were able to continue their activities in Hamburg despite the various claims and counter claims. In November 1649 Colonel James Turner arrived in Hamburg where he found a number of 'Scottish gentlemen, who either had served the late King, or intended to serve the present one'.¹⁰⁰ According to Turner, the Scotsmen were under the command of the Marquis of Montrose, awaiting their transport to Scotland from Hamburg.¹⁰¹ Some of these officers and a number of soldiers had gathered in Hamburg from the summer of the same year, when the Marquis himself was expected to make an appearance in the city.¹⁰² They were transported to Orkney in a ship organised and paid for by George Waite, a Merchant Adventurer and Stuart supporter.¹⁰³

Shortly after the launch of the Montrosian Expedition, the English Parliament sent a representative, Richard Bradshaw, to Hamburg (2 April

⁹⁶ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 145, Crispe to Frost, Hamburg, 24 August 1649.

⁹⁷ CSPD, 1649–1650, 270–271, Council of State to (Hamburg Senate), Whitehall, 9 August 1649.

⁹⁸ DRA, TKUA, AII 16, John Cochrane to Frederick III, Hamburg, 28 July 1649.

⁹⁹ Ibid. See also Hitzigrath, *Die politischen Beziehungen*, 16–24.

¹⁰⁰ Sir James Turner, *Memoirs of His Own Life and Times* (Edinburgh, 1829), 91.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² TNA, SP82/7 fol. 131–132, Crispe to Frost, Hamburg, 3 August 1649.

¹⁰³ TNA, SP82/8 fol. 27, Proposals, Merchant Adventurers to Council of State, 29 July 1650.

1650) to bring the situation in the city under control.¹⁰⁴ In addition to his role as Cromwellian representative, Bradshaw was made deputy of the Merchant Adventurers. He was struggling to gain an official audience with the Hamburg authorities, who were keen to maintain their neutrality.¹⁰⁵ The senators may or may not have felt pressured in their behaviour by two Royalist agents from Breda (Lieutenant-Colonel Jones and Major Scott) and Cochrane's factor (Taylor) who laboured against Bradshaw's endeavours.¹⁰⁶ Although he did not gain any formal recognition, Bradshaw was successful in obliging the senate to open the trial against the prisoners taken after the kidnapping incident on the Elbe.¹⁰⁷ Getting a conviction however proved to be difficult. According to Bradshaw some Hamburg citizens had threatened the English merchants that their ships would be taken by the fleet of Prince Rupert, son of Elizabeth Stuart and nephew of Charles I, should the senate be forced to punish the prisoners.¹⁰⁸ Bradshaw himself also allegedly received death threats, not only by Royalist English merchants but also by Hamburg merchants.¹⁰⁹ According to an observer, a considerable part of the Hamburg citizenry were opposed to the Parliamentary party and against Bradshaw who was rumoured to have been involved in the sentencing and execution of Charles I.¹¹⁰ The senate thus prohibited Bradshaw from living in a stately house as an official resident, as this would have further incensed his enemies and threatened his security.¹¹¹

In May 1650 the prisoners were sentenced to banishment from the city, a verdict Bradshaw protested against as being too mild. According to him, the banned men had only gone as far as Altona where they had met with Count Kinsky, who was in Spanish service and Bradshaw's enemy.¹¹² Bradshaw claimed that they, and especially their leader (a man called Harrington), frequently appeared in Hamburg under Kinsky's regimental colours to meet with Cochran's Irish wife, who had remained in the city while Cochrane himself was on a mission at Danzig.¹¹³ Bradshaw was

¹⁰⁴ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 152, Richard Bradshaw to Frost, Hamburg, 13 April 1650; Mabbott (ed.), *The State Papers*, 37, Parliament to Hamburg Senate, Westminster, 2 April 1650.

¹⁰⁵ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 156–157, Richard Bradshaw to Council of State, 23 April 1650; SP82/7 fol. 171–172, Richard Bradshaw to Council of State, Hamburg, 7 May 1650.

¹⁰⁶ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 156–157, Richard Bradshaw to Council of State, 23 April 1650.

¹⁰⁷ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 178–179, Richard Bradshaw to Council of State, 14 May 1650.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 182, Richard Bradshaw to Walter Frost, Hamburg, 14 May 1650.

¹¹⁰ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 183, Sultzbach to ?, 16/26 May 1650.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² TNA, SP82/7 fol. 184, Richard Bradshaw to Council of State, Hamburg, 21 May 1650.

¹¹³ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 188, Richard Bradshaw to Frost, Hamburg, 28 May 1650.

convinced of the senate's partiality who he professed gave Harrington and his friends ample warning to leave the city without arresting them.¹¹⁴ The Cromwellian representative's doubts over the senate's neutrality increased, when the English court at Hamburg sentenced the Adventurer and Stuart supporter, John Metcalf, who had openly proclaimed his support for Charles Stuart.¹¹⁵ After his conviction, Metcalf had been able to escape from prison and had asked for protection from the Hamburg authorities, which was initially granted.¹¹⁶

In the meantime, news of the disastrous end of Montrose's expedition had reached the continent, and the ensuing destruction of the Royalist force left many of the Scottish participants destitute.¹¹⁷ The poor treatment of Montrose drove many Royalists, including John Cochrane, James King and Patrick Ruthven, away from Charles II due to his perceived treachery towards his loyal subject.¹¹⁸ Some of them, including Cochrane sojourned through Hamburg after deserting the Stuart cause, carrying money they had previously raised for Charles II.¹¹⁹ Bradshaw noted that in Hamburg itself 'the smart handling of Montrose had turned the edge of the fury of this people from the English now to the Scots'.¹²⁰ However, he continued to be worried about his personal safety after the assassination of the Cromwellian representative Anthony Ascham in Madrid, an incident which he thought would turn the senate and the citizenry further against him.¹²¹ Nevertheless, after the victory of the New Model Army at Dunbar (3 September 1650), the authorities cautiously began to improve their relationship with Bradshaw and the Commonwealth.¹²²

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 203, Richard Bradshaw to Frost, Hamburg, 18 June 1650; SP82/7 fol. 212, Richard Bradshaw to Frost, Hamburg, 29 June 1650. Metcalf asked to be pardoned the following month when the Hamburg senate refused to protect him any longer. TNA, SP82/8 fol. 17, Richard Bradshaw to Frost, Hamburg, 16 July 1650.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 149–151; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 221–227.

¹¹⁸ Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 156–159.

¹¹⁹ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 31, Hamburg, 6 August 1650; SP82/8 fol. 83, Richard Bradshaw to Frost, Hamburg, 5 November 1650; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 157.

¹²⁰ HMC, Sixth Report, 426, Richard Bradshaw to Fleming, Hamburg, 18 June 1650; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 157.

¹²¹ TNA, SP82/7 fol. 218, Richard Bradshaw to Council of State, 29 June 1650; SP82/8 fol. 1, Richard Bradshaw to President of Council, Hamburg, 2 July 1650.

¹²² TNA, SP82/8 fol. 107, Richard Bradshaw to Lord President of Council, Hamburg, 28 January 1651.

The events in the British Isles not only impacted on Hamburg, but also on other places within the wider Elbe-Weser region. From May 1649 to at least October 1650 English ships were brought into Glückstadt by vessels ostensibly commissioned by Charles II.¹²³ The captains of these ships were allowed to freely sell their prey, without judgement by an admiralty court, in the port probably because it belonged to Charles' relative Frederick III of Denmark-Norway. However, in at least one case an English privateer (John Lawson) managed to re-capture one of these ships at Glückstadt to the dismay of the local governor.¹²⁴ The Cromwellian war against Scotland also had an impact on the city of Bremen. The senate approached Bradshaw in June/ July 1651 to issue letters of recommendation which would prevent their merchant ships en route to Culross from being intercepted by Commonwealth ships lying before Leith.¹²⁵ Bradshaw fulfilled their request and approached the Lord President of Council stating that the Bremeners should be given preference over other foreigners as they shared the reformed religion of the Commonwealth.¹²⁶ Unfortunately we do not know if his endeavours were successful.

Furthermore, the Cromwellian attack and subsequent occupation of Scotland impacted on many of the Scots in Swedish service who frequented the region during the 1650s. They included the cavalry captain John Gordon who persuaded his 'countryman' and relative Patrick Gordon to join the Swedish army while in Hamburg in 1655.¹²⁷ John Gordon's incentive to remain on the continent lay in the hopelessness of the current situation in Scotland.¹²⁸ Ironically, however, the Swedish monarch Charles X Gustav had become a Cromwellian ally creating a dilemma for

¹²³ TNA, SP82/8 fol. 29, Richard Bradshaw to Frost, Hamburg, 30 July 1650; SP82/8 fol. 69, Richard Bradshaw to Council of State, Hamburg, 29 October 1650; SP82/8 fol. 90, (Richard Bradshaw?) to Governor of Glückstadt, Hamburg, 11 November 1650; SP82/8 fol. 100, Report of Ships being Brought into Glückstadt, May 1649–October 1650.

¹²⁴ TNA, SP82/8 fol. 67, John Lawson to ?, without place, 20 October 1650.

¹²⁵ TNA, SP82/8, fol. 115, Bremen Senate to Richard Bradshaw, Bremen, 19 June/9 July 1651.

¹²⁶ TNA, SP82/8 fol. 120, Richard Bradshaw to the Lord President of Council, Hamburg, 14 July 1651.

¹²⁷ Fedosov (ed.), *Diary*, 22–24. A John Gordon received communion within the English church in Hamburg during this year and he was most likely identical to the cavalry captain whose name was however explicitly stated as 'Gardin'. For John Gordon's communion see StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 30 March 1655. Captain John Gordon was probably also identical to a Colonel Gordon who was present in Hamburg in 1647 lending 30,000 Mark banko to the city of Bremen. StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1647–1648, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.6, 60–63, 18–25 June 1647.

¹²⁸ Fedosov (ed.), *Diary*, 23.

Royalist soldiers and officers within the Swedish army, including William Cranstoun. As Alexia Grosjean has observed, he and other members of his regiment were Scottish Royalists who joined the service of the Swedish monarch. Motivation to serve in Sweden probably derived from the wish to leave the British Isles under Cromwell's rule although the possibility of transfer into service for a power ambivalent to the Stuarts may have played a role too.¹²⁹ Cranstoun sent a letter to the Swedish diplomat Peter Julius Coyet from London, informing him that Charles II had promised him a payment through a diplomat in Hamburg called Mr Cambro, who denied ever receiving such an order.¹³⁰ Without doubt, Cambro was the Merchant Adventurer Nathaniel Cambridge, but it is unclear why he refused to give Cranstoun his assistance. It may have reflected an individual response and was certainly not the last time the company was approached by Royalists for support.

In January 1657 Alexander Leslie (the Earl of Leven)—Cranstoun's father-in-law—visited Hamburg where he was also in contact with the company.¹³¹ It is probable that he sorted out another contact among the Adventurers. A few months later, in October 1657, Cranstoun himself was present in the city, where he told Coyet of his huge financial problems, and asked him to send money to secure his passage to England.¹³² Ten days later, however, Cranstoun informed Coyet that he had found another source of money in the city, and now had to travel as fast as possible from Hamburg to Scotland to sell his estates there in order to pay his officers, some of whom were apparently able to intimidate his wife at home.¹³³ The merchant William Grison is most likely to have been this financial source; his connections with the Adventurers and Major Alexander Garden (who was also a Royalist sympathiser) have already been mentioned.¹³⁴ Grison was also in contact with other officers of Cranstoun's regiment such as Major James Mercer and it is possible that the 1,000 Imperial dollars Elizabeth Mercer had sent to Hamburg were meant to be transferred to her rela-

¹²⁹ Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 72–77.

¹³⁰ SRA, Coyetska Samlingen, E 3398, vol. 2, (William) Cranstoun to (Peter Julius Coyet), London, 3 July (1656?).

¹³¹ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 3 January 1657.

¹³² SRA, Coyetska Samlingen, E 3398, vol. 2, Cranstoun to Coyet, Hamburg, 17 October 1657. Cranstoun's financial difficulties resulted from his regiment being besieged at Thorn/Torun.

¹³³ SRA, Coyetska Samlingen, E 3398, vol. 2, Cranstoun to Coyet, Hamburg, 28 October 1657.

¹³⁴ See chapter 2. NAS, Burnett and Reid Records, GD57/1/336/10, Notarial Copy of Obligations, May 1651–April 1652.

tive.¹³⁵ Other Scots present in Hamburg who may have assisted Cranstoun were Major Cunningham and his wife or John Lorimer who was possibly a relative of the Elsinore merchant and tax assessor Robert Lorimer.¹³⁶

For such a high-profile Stuart supporter as Cranstoun, Hamburg proved to be a safe place in which to contemplate his future after his regiment was driven out of Thorn in Poland in 1657. In the city he found like-minded fellow Scots and Englishmen and, crucially, financial support. The involvement of Alexander Bruce, who resided with Grison in April 1658, in the Royalist cause has been speculated about but so far concrete evidence for active support is missing.¹³⁷ David Stevenson has pointed out that his pass to Northern Germany allowed for a return journey proving that he was not a Royalist exile—at least not a political one.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, the fact that Bruce had planned to be in Hamburg at a time when Cranstoun, Cunningham and Lorimer frequented the city as well as his connection to the Mercer family strongly indicate that he was at least a sympathiser. In Bremen, Bruce met with the Scottish commandant, William Bonar of Rossie, who may also have supported the cause of the exiled Stuarts. Bonar had joined Swedish service in 1634 and was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel the following year.¹³⁹ However, having lost his left leg at the siege of Augsburg he was forced to leave active service and was made governor, first of Großglogau in Silesia and then of Vechta in Westphalia, a mere 60 kilometres southwest of Bremen.¹⁴⁰ Through his great-grandmother Margaretha Mercer, Bonar was related to Balthasar and Elizabeth Mercer and it is probable that he saw his relative during his stay at Vechta and that this connection initiated a meeting with Alexander Bruce.¹⁴¹ Bonar would certainly have been wealthy enough to support Bruce or the Royalists financially as he had been in a position to lend the city of Bremen 6,000 Imperial dollars in 1650.¹⁴² While it has been possible to identify Royalist

¹³⁵ Drewes, 'The Scottish Civil War Refugee' (online publication); Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 77.

¹³⁶ StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 3 October 1657. The three Scots were registered as communicants.

¹³⁷ Stevenson (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray*, 18.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, CS61 No. 3, 'Der Frommen Aufrichtigen köstliches und endliches Kleyndt'.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1648–1651, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.7, 305, 1 November 1650. As studies of Scottish exiles elsewhere reveal, such expenses could draw the reserve of a sympathising resident merchant community and cause them distress. See the case of the

exiles in the region, there were many other military men who remained either outwith the conflict or in post on behalf of various powers.

Scottish Administration in the Wider Elbe-Weser Region

William Bonar is of interest not only for his connection to Bruce and Mercer or his potential Stuart sympathies. As commandant he was actively involved in the Swedish administration of territories in Northwest Germany which had been acquired under the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) including the duchies of Bremen and Verden.¹⁴³ If we look at these political entities it becomes obvious that Scots—whose numeric involvement in Swedish service was markedly reduced after 1648—played a significant role in securing and governing these political territories. They served in various functions and some of them can certainly be proven to have sympathised with or participated in the Royalist network operating in the duchy of Bremen and Hamburg as well as in Sweden itself.

One of the four commissioners responsible for working out a new administrative order for Bremen-Verden after Sweden had formally taken control in 1648 was Alexander von Erskine (1598–1656) who was the son of a Scottish merchant based in Greifswald in Pomerania.¹⁴⁴ Despite his Swedish ennoblement in 1643 and long lasting service for the Swedish Crown, or the fact that Erskine had never set foot in Scotland himself, there is evidence that he felt attached to his father's country. Not only did he change his name from Eschen to the more Scottish form Erskine after 1637 but he also specifically referred to himself as being Scottish in 1653.¹⁴⁵ Indeed even his eldest son—a third generation Scot abroad—described Erskine as 'a Scot in Swedish service' in a letter to the Earl of

merchant factors in Bordeaux in the wake of the 1715 uprising. Murdoch, 'The French Connection', 40.

¹⁴³ With the transfer into Swedish power, the former archbishopric and bishopric of Bremen and Verden became secular duchies. We have to remind ourselves here that the duchy of Bremen is easily confused with the city (especially as contemporary documents do not always clearly differentiate between the two). Thus references to the duchy of Bremen are clearly marked as such in this chapter.

¹⁴⁴ NLS, AP.4.89.5, 'Hertz-Erquickendes Trost-Urtheil'; Beate Christine Fiedler, 'Alexander von Erskine (Esken)' in bei der Wieden and Lokers (eds.), *Lebensläufe*, 96–7; Bengt Hildebrand, 'Alexander Erskine', *Svenskt Biographiskt Lexicon*, vol. 14, 462–476.

¹⁴⁵ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 151; Hildebrand, 'Alexander Erskine', 464.

Mar in 1681 which acknowledged the earl as head of the Swedish branch of the Erskine family.¹⁴⁶

After having entered Swedish service in 1628 Erskine had embarked on a remarkable career resulting in his participation in the peace talks in Osnabrück in 1646 and 1647 as well as in additional negotiations in 1649 (*Nürnberger Exekutionstag*) in his capacity as *Krigspresident* (President of War).¹⁴⁷ Being one of four high-profile commissioners—the other three being *Rigsråd* Schering Rosenhane, Governor General Hans Christopher von Königsmarck and Chancellor Johann Stucke—Erskine played a major role in the establishment of formal Swedish control over Bremen-Verden.¹⁴⁸ On 22 September 1653, Erskine was made president of the new government of Stade—a new kind of office which involved his attendance of meetings of the governing council. Erskine represented the governor in this institution during his many absences as well as being expected to read and sign any official records as co-signatory along with the chancellor.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, the president was to preside over the highest judicial institution (*Justizkollegium*) and to inspect the other courts as well as to undertake diplomatic duties on behalf of the Swedish monarch. A stipulation of the Bremen-Verden government insisted that the president had to live in the city of Bremen, in order to ensure that Swedish rights over the cathedral district were maintained within the city walls.¹⁵⁰

In accordance with this provision, Erskine and his wife ran a household in a rented house in Bremen. In addition, Erskine bought estates at Arsten and at Hemme (situated south east of Bremen within the city's rural territory) from the local citizens Evert Niema and Luder Surbiek.¹⁵¹ This purchase entailed some legal difficulties, as the local count (*Gohgraf*) was able to demand services and duties from the peasants residing on Erskine's estates diminishing their profitability.¹⁵² Upon Erskine's complaint the senate intervened and enforced the rescission of the sale.¹⁵³ This manoeuvre demonstrates the eagerness of the authorities to please

¹⁴⁶ NAS, Mar and Kellie Papers, GD124/15/171, Alexander Erskine to Earl of Mar, written at sea, 19 September 1681; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 151; Murdoch, *Network North*, 24.

¹⁴⁷ Fiedler, 'Alexander von Erskine', 96–97; Hildebrand, 'Alexander Erskine', 463.

¹⁴⁸ Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 91.

¹⁴⁹ Fiedler, 'Alexander von Erskine', 97.

¹⁵⁰ Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 91.

¹⁵¹ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle, 1651–1653, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.8, 30, 8 July 1651.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 41, 21 August 1651.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 39, 5 August 1651 and 53, 4 October 1651.



Alexander Erskine, Anselmus van Hulle © Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Erskine during the critical time between their refusal to pay homage to the Swedish crown and the outbreak of war against Sweden.¹⁵⁴ In order to win Erskine's favour the senators also made a donation of 1000 Imperial

¹⁵⁴ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1648–1651, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.7, 282, 11 August 1650.

dollars and acted collectively as godparents to Erskine's son who was born in their city in 1650.¹⁵⁵

Erskine's rank within the Swedish administration was underlined by the fact that he could build his very own castle on the river Schwinge, which presumably led to his commuting between this place, his house in the city of Bremen and Stade, the seat of the Swedish government in Bremen. In addition to these residencies, Erskine owned a number of other estates and gained revenues in Pomerania and within the duchy of Bremen, including incomes from the tithe of Bremervörde as well as the estate at Schölisch.¹⁵⁶ Due to his personal wealth, Erskine became a creditor to the Swedish crown, who owed his inheritors a sum of 30,000 Imperial dollars (which had only been reduced to an amount of 18,672 Imperial dollars by 1662).¹⁵⁷

The status of Erskine in Bremen-Verden is important in itself, but the way he linked up with other Scots should also not go unnoticed. We know that he communicated with a number of fellow countrymen in Swedish service, among them Field Marshal Alexander Leslie, whom he met in person at Stralsund as early as 1628 when Erskine had taken on the role of Swedish agent.¹⁵⁸ Other Scottish contacts included Major-General Patrick Ruthven as well as Lieutenant-General (later Field Marshal) Robert Douglas with whom he was in frequent correspondence.¹⁵⁹ Ruthven contacted Erskine in 1649 from Hamburg asking him for help with the payment of money he was owed by the Swedish Crown to Colonel William Barclay, and in passing referring to the fact that he and Erskine had known

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 236, 19 March 1650 and 271, 9 July 1650; SRA, Bremensia No. 54, Alexander Erskine to ?, without place/date.

¹⁵⁶ Fiedler, 'Alexander von Erskine', 97; Jürgen Bohmbach (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Stade* (Hildesheim/Stade, 1981), 245–8, Deed, Bremen Senate/Alexander von Erskine, 8 November 1651; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 543. Erskine kept his large archival collection which he had taken from various places—especially Prague—during his time as war president at Schwinge. This collection is today kept in the State archives at Stade. Heinz-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Findbuch zum Bestand 32: Erskinesche Aktensammlung* (Stader Reichsarchiv) (1431–1655) (Göttingen, 1982).

¹⁵⁷ Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 424.

¹⁵⁸ SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3586, Alexander Leslie to Alexander Erskine, Hademühlen, 31 March 1636; Hildebrandt, 'Alexander Erskine', 465. It is possible that Leslie was even his relative through Erskine's grandmother Elisabeth Leslie.

¹⁵⁹ SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3586, Several Letters, Robert Douglas to Alexander Erskine, Nürnberg and Ulm, 20 March 1638–13 November 1649; SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3588, Patrick Ruthven to Alexander Erskine, Schaffstedt, 11 February 1636 and Hamburg, 3 July 1649.

each other for such a long time.¹⁶⁰ In doing so he was calling on the previously described 'network linkage' of auld acquaintance indicating a significant bond between these two men.¹⁶¹ Both Barclay and Ruthven had been engaging themselves in a Royalist mission in Hamburg and there is proof that Erskine himself was not unsympathetic to the cause of the Stuart King, as he was among those Scots in Swedish service who were directly approached for assistance by Charles II in 1653.¹⁶² This was at a time when official support from the Swedish government had become unlikely due to the events in Scotland (English occupation), and Sweden developed closer relations with England.¹⁶³ It is thus likely that Ruthven not only approached Erskine due to his position but also because he knew that he could rely on him due to their common political goals and interest in the plight of their ancestral homeland.

As with Ruthven, Robert Douglas also requested assistance from Erskine albeit in a variety of different matters. Not only did he ask him to intervene and excuse him to the Elector Palatine (Charles Louis) for not having sent a certain amount of money to him on time, he also begged Erskine to mind his interest as well as that of his brother-in-law, *Rigsråd* Axel Lillie. This was in regard to the land donation policy of Queen Christina (1632–1654).¹⁶⁴ The Swedish monarch was notoriously short of cash and thus rewarded military and civic officials with donations of land allowing them to collect the subsequent revenues it produced.¹⁶⁵ However, Douglas feared that he would not receive remuneration to the value of the debt owed to him and was particularly concerned with the incomes of the nunnery at Zeven—a secularised estate in the duchy of Bremen, which he had already received as a donation on 10 July 1647 in lieu of salary. He had heard that the nuns—who were allowed to remain on the property—were to keep the revenues for themselves.¹⁶⁶ As with Ruthven,

¹⁶⁰ SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3588, Patrick Ruthven to Alexander Erskine, Hamburg, 3 July 1649; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 152–154.

¹⁶¹ Network linkages of 'auld acquaintance' are discussed in Murdoch, *Network North*, 73–77.

¹⁶² Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 245.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3586, Robert Douglas to Alexander Erskine, Ulm, 15 August and 20 October 1649; Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 245.

¹⁶⁵ Frost, *The Northern Wars*, 202; Murdoch, *Network North*, 232–233 and Appendix, 362–363.

¹⁶⁶ SRA, Alexander Erskines Samling, E3586, Robert Douglas to Alexander Erskine, 20 October 1649; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 535; Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 47.

Douglas referred to their friendship (and acquaintance) in his letters to Erskine, which may have been cemented when both men—along with several other Swedish officers—joined the German cultural society the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* in the autumn of 1644 in Anhalt.¹⁶⁷ However, Robert Douglas was also known to have been part of a Scottish Royalist network in Sweden and he was among those Scots who were contacted by Charles II for financial assistance in 1653.¹⁶⁸ Thus, he could draw on their common support for the Stuart king when dealing with Erskine. Although their political goals were not mentioned in their correspondence, Douglas and Ruthven's letters demonstrate that neither of them hesitated to approach Erskine for assistance and that they assumed that he would comply with their requests and thus reveal part of Erskine's networks which were certainly in existence before and after he acquired his civic positions in Bremen-Verden.

Another Scot in Swedish Bremen who was in personal and written contact with Alexander Erskine and who was also attached to the Royalist side was Colonel William Forbes. Forbes had embarked on a career within the Swedish army when he enlisted in Alexander Leslie's infantry regiment in 1635 after having followed his brother Alexander to the continent.¹⁶⁹ In 1645 he received the rank of colonel but was wounded two years afterwards. While recovering in Nuremberg, Forbes—like Erskine and Douglas—joined the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* which underlined his significant standing both within the Swedish army and an important German cultural and literary movement.¹⁷⁰ In October 1649 Colonel Forbes and his regiment arrived in Bremen, where Forbes took up his residence in Stade, apparently in a poorly equipped house.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Klaus Conerman, *Die Mitglieder der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft 1617–1650* (Weinheim, 1985), 502–505; Murdoch, *Network North*, 367–373.

¹⁶⁸ Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 245. Although Douglas only promised private support on this occasion due to the attitude of the Swedish government in this matter this of course still proves his sympathy for the Royalist cause.

¹⁶⁹ William Forbes wrote a detailed report of his service within the Swedish army shortly before his death in 1654 which probably had the purpose of convincing the Swedish monarch to pay outstanding salaries to the officer. The report which was written in German and is kept in the University Library at Lund has been published by Pleiss. Detlev Pleiss, 'Das Kriegsfahrtenbuch des schwedischen Offiziers William Forbes. Von seiner Landung and der Unterelbe im Sommer 1634 bis zu seiner Rückkehr nach Stade im Winter 1649/50', *Stader Jahrbuch*, vol. 85 (1995), 133–153.

¹⁷⁰ Conermann, *Die Mitglieder*, 504–505.

¹⁷¹ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E601, William Forbes to Axel Oxenstierna, Stade, 18 November 1653; Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, William

In addition to his duties as Colonel over the regiment Forbes also took over the role as commandant of Stade for which he apparently did not receive his full salary. However, in May 1653, he received three land donations from Queen Christina although he did not seem to have received any revenues from them.¹⁷² We know from Forbes's correspondence with the Governor General of Swedish Pomerania, Carl Gustav Wrangel, that Forbes had either met or communicated in writing with Alexander Erskine at the regional diet (*Landtag*) in Basdahl in December 1653. William Forbes had attended this gathering in order to represent Wrangel as his proxy, indicating quite a measure of trust between the two men.¹⁷³ The meeting mainly dealt with the question of the local secular estates—whose privileges had been guaranteed in Westphalia—and their relationship with those mainly foreign individuals who had received donations from the Swedish Crown within the territories. It was the express wish of Queen Christina to merge these two groups in order to limit the power of the Swedish landowners, including Douglas and Forbes.¹⁷⁴ William Forbes informed Wrangel of difficulties with the old estates and promised to confer with the other beneficiaries of land donations in this matter. Furthermore, he referred to a dispute between Wrangel and other Swedish landowners in Bremen-Verden, particularly with Robert Douglas—a question which was, according to Forbes, likely to be discussed at Basdahl. However, Forbes promised to retain a neutral position regarding this conflict.¹⁷⁵ This statement demonstrates two things: firstly that a connection between Forbes and Douglas existed which was known to Wrangel. Indeed, we know that Forbes had inspected Douglas's estate in Zeven in 1650 after difficulties had arisen with the local nuns who protested vigorously against its secularisation.¹⁷⁶ Although it is not clear if Douglas met Forbes in Bremen

Forbes to Wrangel, Stade, 22 November 1649; Fritz Danner, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stader Garnison* (Stade, 1987), 7.

¹⁷² SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E1048, Alexander Forbes to Erik Oxenstierna, without place, 16 August 1653; E601, William Forbes to Axel Oxenstierna, 18 November 1653; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 537.

¹⁷³ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Personarkiv, E8195, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Basdahl, 8 December 1653.

¹⁷⁴ Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 192–194.

¹⁷⁵ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Personarkiv, E8195, William Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Basdahl, 8 December 1653.

¹⁷⁶ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, William Forbes to Wrangel, Stade, 12 June 1650; Archibald Douglas, *Robert Douglas: En Krigargestalt från vår Storhetstid* (Stockholm, 1957), 142–144; Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 44. Allegedly they had refused to provide Douglas with necessary food and other necessary provisions during his visit—an issue Forbes was dismayed about.

it is likely that the colonel tried to take care of Douglas's property and to resolve the dispute with his visit to the nunnery.¹⁷⁷ Given the link between Douglas and Erskine it is probable that the latter was involved in this matter at some level too. Secondly, his apparent decision to remain neutral in the issue between Wrangel and Douglas shows that Forbes did not overtly value his link with one of them over the other, although it is of course possible that he just pretended to assist neither of the men but secretly furthered Douglas's interests. However, Forbes acted in a variety of capacities for Wrangel—among other things he supervised the building of a yacht for him, and nothing suggests that he and the Swede did not form a close and trusted link with each other.¹⁷⁸

Another important contact of William Forbes in the region was undoubtedly his brother Alexander and his family. Alexander Forbes had started his career in the Swedish army in 1630 and had risen to the rank of lieutenant-general. Between March and July 1651 he was present in Stade where one of his daughters, Marie, was born.¹⁷⁹ Although we do not know exactly in which capacity Alexander Forbes had arrived in the duchy, it was during his stay in Stade that a letter was sent to the *Rigsråd* Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna urging support for Alexander Forbes and his brother until their outstanding demands could be completely satisfied. This assistance was to include a guarantee of William's position as colonel as well as the conferring of the position as commandant of Stade for five additional years. Alexander Forbes was to receive a grant from the chamber at Stade of 4,000 Imperial dollars as well as a grant from the admiralty including ropes and salvage rights to 'old ships'.¹⁸⁰ It is not clear if this suggestion ever materialised. However, the same year Alexander Forbes received permission from Queen Christina to raise sunken ships in Sweden, including the *Vasa*, in order to collect money for Charles II. The latter must have known of this support as he asked both Alexander and William Forbes for their help after the defeat of his troops at Worcester (3 September 1651). Among other specifics were requests to raise further troops in order to

¹⁷⁷ Douglas and his heirs kept Zeven and its revenues until 1681 when it was returned to the abdicated Queen Christina. Herbert Schwarzwälder, 'Inventare des 17. Jahrhunderts für Rotenburg, Ottersberg und Zeven als Quellen für die Bau-, Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte', in Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität*, 150.

¹⁷⁸ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv, E8359, Various Letters, William Forbes to Carl Gustaf Wrangel, Stade, 12 June 1650–10 August 1650.

¹⁷⁹ A. and H. Tayler, *The House of Forbes* (Bruceton Mills, 1987), 184.

¹⁸⁰ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E1048, ? to Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna, without place or date.

support the remaining Royalist forces in Scotland.¹⁸¹ This link between the Forbes brothers and the Stuart king makes the connection between them and other Royalists like Erskine or Ruthven in Bremen or the surrounding areas highly likely, though frustratingly unproven.

Due to his position in Stade, William Forbes was in contact with the commandants of the seven main fortifications in Bremen-Verden, two of whom also happened to be Scots before 1654, though there may be more to their appointment than coincidence. The governor of Bremervörde, James Lundie, only appears as a lieutenant in Swedish records from 1647 onwards, but it is clear that he must have acquired experience in Swedish service for a considerable time before being assigned this responsible task.¹⁸² In fact, Lundie himself referred to his lengthy service in the field, but added this was a service of which he felt no longer capable—probably due to an injury. According to his correspondence, it was Carl Gustav Wrangel who had recommended Lundie for the position in Bremervörde.¹⁸³ Since Wrangel had received a considerable land donation in Bremervörde this demonstrates his trust in the skills of the Scottish officer, but unfortunately we do not know if the men had met before or if Lundie had been recommended to Wrangel by somebody else.¹⁸⁴ However, it is possible that it was William Forbes who had suggested Lundie to him as he was to work closely with the governor and was one of Wrangel's confidants. Interestingly, in addition to his duties within the Swedish army Lundie owned property and maintained citizen rights in the city of Bremen, a status which became unsustainable after the outbreak of the Swedish-Bremen war. Lundie tried to solve the situation by applying for a suspension of his citizenship for two years.¹⁸⁵ However, the Bremen authorities did not comply with his request and demanded Lundie to sell

¹⁸¹ Tayler, *The House of Forbes*, 184.

¹⁸² SKRA, Muster Roll, 1647/21; Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 70, 77. According to Alexia Grosjean it was usual for a Scot to have acquired the rank of colonel before becoming appointed to be a governor. His position would have consisted primarily of military tasks. It is unknown if Lundie was also responsible for any civilian tasks. Lundie took over the governorship of Bremervörde in August 1648. From then onwards he maintained a regular correspondence with Carl Gustav Wrangel. SRA, Rydboholmsamlingen, E7943, 18 Letters, Stade and Bremervörde, 28 August 1648–8 May 1651.

¹⁸³ SRA, Rydboholmsamlingen, E7943, James Lundie to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 28 August 1648.

¹⁸⁴ Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 47.

Hildebrandt, 'Alexander Erskine', 476.

¹⁸⁵ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1654–1660, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.g., 20, 11 April 1654.

his property and to give up his rights completely.¹⁸⁶ This was despite the fact that Lundie, like Bonar, acted as a creditor to the city.¹⁸⁷ When the senators made their requests, Lundie demanded the return of his money (a sum of 4,000 Imperial dollars). However, he could be persuaded to extend his loan as the senate collectively bought his house (situated at the *Sebaldsbrücke*) at a price which was presumably favourable to the Scot.¹⁸⁸

The second fortification guarded by a Scottish governor was Buxtehude, located just a few miles from the commercial hub of Hamburg. Here, the Adjutant-General Patrick More took over the command in the later 1640s.¹⁸⁹ He had entered Swedish service in either 1626 or 1629 and had been listed as a cavalry captain in G.M. Witzleben's regiment in 1642 becoming part of the regiment of Arvid Wittenberg in 1646.¹⁹⁰ Like Forbes he received a land donation in lieu of pay, in his case of the island of Krautsand in 1646, which he was, however, to transfer to General Königsmarck after ten years of gathering revenues. Nevertheless, Königsmarck opted to pay More 10,400 Imperial dollars in August 1648 in return for his rights over the island.¹⁹¹ This payment probably functioned as seed capital for a money lending business in which More engaged himself from the 1650s onwards. For example, More lent a sum of 5,000 Imperial dollars to the city of Bremen, which he reclaimed in January 1652.¹⁹² As Lundie, he was persuaded to extend the loan to June 1654.¹⁹³ Since the Swedish-Bremen War had broken out by this date, More did not see his money returned. In 1656 he was still a creditor to the city, trying to retrieve his loan.¹⁹⁴ However, this was not the end of his lending business. In January 1655, More had credited another sum of 10,000 Imperial dollars to Arvid Wittenberg von Debern under whom he had previously served in the Swedish army. Including interest, this sum increased to 13,568 Imperial dollars in 1658 by which point Wittenberg had died leaving

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 24-25, 12 April 1654.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.9., 124, 29 December 1655.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.9., 28-29, 14 April 1654.

¹⁸⁹ Grojean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 59.

¹⁹⁰ Murdoch and Zickermann, 'Major-General Patrick More', without page numbers.

¹⁹¹ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E661, Patrick More to Axel Oxenstierna, Buxtehude, 18 September 1646 and 30 October 1646; de la Gardiesamlingen, E1501, Patrick More to Magnus de la Gardie, Jägersdorf, 19 June 1648 and Camp outside Prague, 9 October 1648; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 256, 540, 543.

¹⁹² StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.8, 84, 16 January 1652.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 265, 20 May 1653. Bonar withdrew his credit of 7,000 Imperial dollars in June 1653. StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.8, 276, 15 June 1653.

¹⁹⁴ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1654-1660, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.9., 221, 30 June 1658.

his inheritors unable to repay More. The commandant thus extended the credit and received interest as well as an amount of 1,600 Imperial dollars from Wittenberg's estate (Thedinghausen).¹⁹⁵ These financial transactions involved further business contacts in the commercial centres of Bremen and Hamburg as well as Swedish-Bremen thus spanning three key political entities in the Elbe-Weser region.¹⁹⁶

Apart from his commercial links and contact with Wittenberg, More was also in touch with Robert Douglas as well as with his cousin Patrick Ruthven who—as mentioned previously—was present in Hamburg in 1649 in order to further the cause of the House of Stuart, together with a number of other Scottish officers like William Barclay.¹⁹⁷ Although there is no proof that More and Ruthven met in Hamburg it is hard to believe that they did not get in touch given their close proximity of 25 kilometres. Indeed, in February 1652 Ruthven, along with the Englishman William Swann (later the official Stuart resident in the Hanseatic towns) and Colonel Barclay, visited More in Buxtehude on their way from Hamburg to the United Provinces. As Swann had his own horses he stayed overnight in the governor's house whereas the other two had to take a coach leaving the governor after just one hour. Patrick Ruthven died the following night just a few miles outside Buxtehude, his body being brought to Altenkloster where Patrick More arranged for the remains to be sent back to Scotland, but not without asking Count and then High Treasurer (*Riksskattmästare*) Magnus de la Gardie to help with the costs involved.¹⁹⁸ The fact that the travelling party went to the trouble of visiting More, and that Swann found accommodation with him, highlights the close connection between these men and indicates More's sympathy for the Stuart side during the resistance to the Cromwellian occupation, linking him further with Erskine, the Forbes brothers and Robert Douglas. In fact we know that the latter was in correspondence with Patrick More in 1646 and it is possible that both men met during Douglas's brief visit to Zeven, given the

¹⁹⁵ SRA, Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv, E8423, Arvid Wittenberg to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stockholm, 8 January 1655 and Patrick More to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Oldesloe, 12 July 1658 (includes contract More/Wittenberg, 1655).

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Turner, *Memoirs*, 91; Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 152–154.

¹⁹⁸ SRA, de la Gardiesamlingen, E1501, Patrick More to Magnus de la Gardie, Buxtehude, 26 February 1652.

close geographical proximity of the nunnery to Buxtehude.¹⁹⁹ While we can be cautiously optimistic about the strength of these networks, we can be more certain of further Scottish contacts maintained by the Buxtehude Scot. Interestingly, Patrick More also held a link with the Mercer family. His original testimonial, provided as part of his application for a Scottish birth brief in 1663, was signed by a Laurence Mercer and it is thus probable that More and Elizabeth Mercer had met or corresponded with each other during the 1650s due to their shared Royalist sympathies, ethnic affiliation or simple geographic proximity.²⁰⁰ This connection as well as his military duties also linked More to William Bonar. With the end of the Thirty Years' War, it may have seemed that these men could retire in their various estates and settle in peace after years of conflict—but it was not to be.

The first Swedish-Bremen War of 1654 had an effect on the presence of Scots in the duchies due to the loss of William Forbes who died in an attack whilst defending the fortification of Burg, of which he was in charge.²⁰¹ According to the last sentences added to his memorial, two different monarchs—who must have been the Swedish king Charles X Gustav and the Stuart king Charles II—wept over his death revealing once again Forbes's integration into the Swedish military elite as well as his sympathy for the cause of the exiled British monarch.²⁰² Forbes was replaced in his position as commandant by another Scot, Alexander Irving, who had entered Swedish service in 1614 and then served in various forces such as the Mackay and Kalmar regiments going through the usual ranks until being made colonel in 1645.²⁰³ On 16 May 1642, Irving received a birth

¹⁹⁹ SRA, Stegeborgsamlingen II, Arvprinsen Carl Gustafs Arkiv, E128, Robert Douglas to Carl Gustav, Ilmen, 7 April 1646 and Swedish Camp, 10 November 1646.

²⁰⁰ *RPCS, Third Series*, 1661–1664, 355–356, Supplication, Patrick More, Edinburgh, 14 April 1663. The request of a Scottish birth brief as proof of legal birth was not unusual as such documentation was often necessary to acquire citizenship or other privileges. Waldemar Kowalski, 'Certificates of Legitimate Birth (Birth-Briefs) in the Practice of the City Councils of Aberdeen and Krakow at the close of the Sixteenth Century and during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Przgmaticke pisemnosti kontekstu pravrim a spzavnim* (Prague, 2008), 187–201; Steve Murdoch, 'Fabricating Nobility? Genealogy and Social Mobility among Franco-Scottish Families in the Early Modern Period', *Culture Savante, Culture Populaire en Ecosse*, 40 (2007), 37–51.

²⁰¹ Tayler, *The House of Forbes*, 201; Henning Eichberg, *Militär und Technik: Schwedenfestungen des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden* (Düsseldorf, 1976), 36.

²⁰² Pleiss, 'Das Kriegsfahrtenbuch', 153; Fischer, *The Scots in Sweden*, 128; Tayler, *The House of Forbes*, 201. The author of the memorial's last lines is unknown.

²⁰³ Grojean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 70.

brief from Scotland in support of his application for his Swedish ennoblement. His stay in Stade was relatively short as he left in 1656 to retire to Sweden.²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, when in Bremen, Irving almost certainly met with Alexander Forbes. The latter had returned to the duchies in order to retrieve outstanding debts owing to him as well as to his brother, particularly for the latter's services as commandant. In addition to this he stated that he felt obliged to satisfy William Forbes's creditors.²⁰⁵

Alexander Forbes remained in Bremen until at least 1657 although it is not quite clear in which capacity. The recurring themes of his correspondence are the financial difficulties which he attempted to settle by requesting the aforementioned money, as well as a serious illness which he seemed to have contracted in 1655.²⁰⁶ It is entirely possible that it was delays in the attempts to sort out his affairs which kept Forbes in the duchies for three years. However, given his previous position within the Swedish army it would not be surprising if he did not also take on military capacities, specifically when the duchies were attacked by the Danish king Frederick III who managed to temporarily occupy Bremervörde in 1657, ending Lundie's governorship over the fortification.²⁰⁷ After 1657 there is no proof for the presence of either James Lundie or Alexander Forbes in the duchies and it has to be assumed that they had left the same year or shortly thereafter.²⁰⁸ In addition to them, Alexander von Erskine had moved on to Poland in his capacity as president of war (*Krigspresident*) in 1655 where Charles X Gustav—who had succeeded Christina—engaged himself in another military conflict, 'the Deluge'. There, Erskine was captured at the battle of Warsaw (28–30 July 1656) and died shortly thereafter at Zamosc.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ NAS, Genealogies, RH16/207/2–3, Copy of Birth-Brief of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Irving, 16 May 1647; Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 70.

²⁰⁵ SRA, Oxenstiernska Samlingen, E1048, Alexander Forbes to Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna, Stade, 20 April 1655.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., Alexander Forbes to Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna, Stade, 16 August 1653, 17 November 1654, 27 March and 20 April 1655; Skoklostersamlingen II, Personarkiv, E8195, Alexander Forbes to Carl Gustav Wrangel, Stade, 14 March 1657 and Burg, 12 May 1657.

²⁰⁷ Danner, *Beiträge*, 37–39.

²⁰⁸ A Captain James Lundie was enlisted in Colonel Dietrich von Düring's regiment in 1660 but due to his rank it is more likely that he was the son of the commandant. Danner, *Beiträge*, 38.

²⁰⁹ NLS, AP.4.89.5, 'Hertz-Erquickendes Trost-Urtheil'; Frost, *The Northern Wars*, 166–177; Hildebrandt, 'Alexander Erskine', 476. Erskine was buried in the Lutheran Cathedral in Bremen on 6 May 1658.

After Alexander von Erskine's death his cousin, Archibald Erskine, who was also in Swedish service, arrived in Hamburg in order to take care of the deceased's estate.²¹⁰ He experienced difficulties with Erskine's widow, Lucia Christina (nee von Wartensleben), whom he feared was more powerful than himself due to the fact that he was unaccustomed with the laws of the land. Erskine was especially anxious that his cousin's relict would wear him out with a long and expensive court case at the chancery at Stade. Erskine thus asked the English Cromwellian envoy to Sweden, William Jephson, to support his petition to the Swedish king to influence the judges to grant him a fast and impartial verdict.²¹¹ The fact that Erskine banked on assistance from him indicates that he did not support the Royalist side in the British conflict—at least not openly. At the same time his petition to Jephson is another example for a presumed Anglo-Scottish cooperation within the wider Elbe-Weser region.

Thus, the various conflicts in which Sweden participated after 1654 ended a period in Bremen-Verden in which we could find a number of Scots in significant military and civic positions—men who stayed in the territories for a considerable time. What followed was a new phase of Scottish presence which took on a more transient character. For example, in October 1656 a troop of newly recruited Scottish soldiers apparently robbed the administrator of the toll and excise tax in Brunshausen, attempting to kill him while destroying his house.²¹² These soldiers were probably part of the second wave of the Cranstoun regiment which had been employed in order to fight in the war against Poland and it is possible that they belonged to the group of soldiers known to have deserted from Swedish service due to the alliance between the Swedish monarch and Cromwell.²¹³ Some of these deserters took up Danish-Norwegian service a few miles away at Glückstadt placing Scots in contesting armies within a few kilometres of each other.²¹⁴ Other examples of transient Scottish military officials included William Lundie, a relative of James Lundie, or Lieutenant Robert Davidson who fought in the aforementioned conflict between Denmark and Sweden at a fort at Belum in 1658 but of them,

²¹⁰ SRA, Coyetska Samlingen, E3389, vol. 2, Alexander Erskine to Coyet, Hamburg, 30 December 1657.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² StAS, Schwedisches Regierungsarchiv, Rep. 5a, Fach 178 No. 1, Report Relating to the Attack of the Toll and Excise Tax Administrator in Brunshausen, 1656.

²¹³ Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 76.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

their impact on the region or their political or military networks, little is known although of some new arrivals we have more information.²¹⁵

Andrew Melville, then a major in the Swedish army and Royalist exile, also arrived in Stade via Hamburg in 1658 in order to raise a regiment of dragoons in the duchy of Bremen.²¹⁶ According to his own records this task took six months in which he was assisted by the Count of Dohna who governed the duchy in the absence of the imprisoned General Königsmarck. After this period Melville—by then a lieutenant-colonel—remained at Neuhausen at the Elbe with half of the regiment in order to hinder the Danish army's attempt to cross into the territory. However, he was accused by the local commandant of 'committing violence' within his jurisdiction and thus had to justify himself to Königsmarck who had returned to Stade in the meantime and put Melville under arrest. Having been released shortly thereafter and with his former regiment disbanded after the death of the Swedish king followed by the Peace of Oliva, Melville was apparently asked to continue to serve in Bremen with a company of dragoons but decided to leave the duchy to seek his fortune elsewhere.²¹⁷ However, one of the Scots present in Bremen since the late 1640s—Patrick More—remained in the duchy until his death in 1680.

More is an interesting case as he did not confine himself to a Scottish or Swedish social network but became linked with the indigenous population of Buxtehude by marrying the mayor's stepdaughter with whom he had at least one child. After taking over as commandant, More became resident in the town and had his own pew installed in the local church thus symbolising his intention to remain in Germany (for a while at least). During the 1660s, More took the town officials to court over a sum he was apparently owed by them—revealing that the relationship between the commandant and the indigenous population was not always a positive one.²¹⁸ More probably decided to retire to private life in 1663 when he applied for a Scottish birth brief in order to prove his good social standing.²¹⁹ However, he did not withdraw from Swedish service completely as he

²¹⁵ Danner, *Beiträge*, 37.

²¹⁶ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 177–180. Through Erskine's grandmother, Elisabeth Melville, both men were related to each other and it is thus likely that they met in the duchy. NLS, AP.4.89.5, 'Hertz-Erquickendes Trost-Urtheil'.

²¹⁷ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 177–180.

²¹⁸ StadtB, Patrick More, StH.38.M1, Colonel Patrick Mohr vs. Provost and Senate of Buxtehude.

²¹⁹ *RPCS, Third Series*, 1661–1664, 355–356, Supplication, Patrick More, Edinburgh, 14 April 1663.

gained the rank *Krigsråd* (military councillor) on 23 April 1671 in Stade and Major-General in 1675.²²⁰ It is possible that More was re-commissioned in times of conflict, for example when the second war between the city of Bremen and Sweden ensued in 1665. This conflict also saw Andrew Melville's return to the duchy albeit this time in the service of the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg whom he had joined the previous year and who came to the city's aid against Sweden.²²¹ In this expedition Melville was joined by Colonel John Mollison who was likewise among the duke's troops.²²² The appearance of Melville and Mollison in the Bremen-Swedish war makes it likely that Scots faced each other on opposing sides of the battlefield. This potentially created a dilemma for them although the situation was not uncommon in the various European conflicts in which Scottish officers and soldiers participated.²²³ In March the following year Mollison was recovering from an illness in Hamburg where he met with Patrick Gordon who passed through the city offering him the use of his servants and coach for the duration of his stay.²²⁴

The aforementioned itinerant soldier Patrick Gordon also returned to Northwest Germany in 1667 and communicated with Patrick More at Buxtehude.²²⁵ However, his network in Hamburg was far more extensive. Gordon had already been present in Hamburg in 1666 where he was assisted by the Adventurer Nathaniel Cambridge and the local merchant Henry van Porten, both of whom he was introduced to by letters of recommendation.²²⁶ On returning to the city in 1667, he continued his links with these men. Cambridge took care of Gordon's post and furnished him with 100 Imperial dollars on a bill to Hermann Beck, a fellow Scot and merchant at Hamburg. Gordon also received eight Imperial dollars from Henry van Poorten on a bill of exchange from Sir John Hebdon, the Russian resident at London and stayed with his relative in Lübeck.²²⁷ Furthermore, Gordon was entertained by the company of Merchant Adventurers and met with

²²⁰ StAS, Schwedisches Regierungsarchiv, Rep. 5a, Vol. 1, Fach 132, No. 17, file relating to the appointment of *Krigsråd* Patrick More at Stade, May 1674.

²²¹ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 197–198.

²²² StadtL, Militaria, M2a2 Nr. 4, Memorial, Lüneburg Senate, 15 November 1666.

²²³ For Scots facing each other see the interesting case study of Scots in Polish and Swedish service (Cranstoun's Regiment in Thorn) communicating with each other. See Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?', 76–82.

²²⁴ Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary*, 98–101.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 69–70. Gordon also met a fellow Scot, a Mr Kennedy during his stay in Hamburg in 1666, whom he had previously met in Moscow.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

the abdicated Swedish monarch, Queen Christina. Gordon and the latter shared the Roman Catholic faith and Gordon commuted to Altona on several occasions in 1666 and 1667 to hear mass.²²⁸ His contacts in Hamburg also included a relative, Colonel Gordon 'Steelhand', and Paul Würtz, who had recently served as a Danish field marshal.²²⁹ Soon after this, Patrick Gordon left the city for the service of the Romanov Tsars.

Whilst in the city Gordon also must have met with William Swann, the official Stuart resident at Hamburg and deputy of the Merchant Adventurers (since 1672). Replicating the role of Anstruther and Averie a few decades earlier, Swann looked after English and Scottish soldiers who arrived in Hamburg in October 1675. They had served in the regiments of the Duke of Monmouth, George Douglas and Hamilton which had been sent to France in order to assist Louis XIV against the United Provinces in 1672.²³⁰ Swann initially tried to arrange transport for these troops to England but subsequently found a better usage for them during the Imperial attack (*Reichsexekution*) against Sweden, now an ally of the French king. Instead of returning to the British Isles, some of the English and Scottish troops were sent to defend Swedish Stade, a plan undoubtedly worked out between Swann and his old confederate Patrick More.²³¹ By the time the anti-Swedish troops had laid siege to Buxtehude in October 1675, More had been released from his duties as governor of Buxtehude by another Scot in Swedish service, Colonel Archibald Hamilton, who may have arrived with the troops from France.²³² Hamilton's position in Buxtehude was short-lived as he was forced to surrender the town on 16 April 1675, an action for which he was tried and executed in Stade in November the same year by Governor General Henrik Horn.²³³ After the fall of Buxtehude, the allied forces laid siege to Stade. The situation of the town worsened dramatically during the summer of 1676, leading to the escape of English and Scottish soldiers to Hamburg where they again

²²⁸ Ibid., 69, 99, 101.

²²⁹ Ibid. Paul Würtz served in various armies. For example, between 1661 and 1664 he was Swedish vice general governor of Pomerania. It is highly likely that Gordon and Würtz had met previously although Gordon does not record such a meeting.

²³⁰ TNA, SP82/12 fol. 155–156, Swann to ?, Hamburg, 30 October 1675; Glozier, *Scottish Soldiers in France*, 148–149.

²³¹ TNA, SP82/12 fol. 216–217, Swann to ?, Hamburg, 30 July 1676.

²³² SRA, de la Gardiesamlingen, E1428, Archibald Hamilton to Magnus de la Gardie, Buxtehude, 1 July 1675.

²³³ TNA, SP82/12 fol. 150–151, Swann to Williamson, Hamburg, 21 October 1675; Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 457–460; Eichberg, *Militär und Technik*, 52; Frost, *The Northern Wars*, 209–212; Pauli, *Det Svenska Tyskland*, 18.

relied on William Swann's support.²³⁴ They may or may not have been assisted in their escape by their countrymen John Mollison and Andrew Melville who took part in the siege on the side of Brunswick-Lüneburg.²³⁵ Melville had been in contact with Swann and More in February 1676 when the three men had jointly paid a visit to the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg.²³⁶ The exact aim of their mission remains unclear, although we can assume that their talks evolved around the situation in Swedish Bremen and More's security should the territory fall under the duke's rule. The fact that Melville cooperated with More (despite his belonging to the enemy's camp) makes it all the more likely that he had a sympathetic ear for the Scots and Englishmen besieged in Stade.

The allied forces finally forced the Swedish troops to leave the duchies in August 1676 and the territories remained effectively under the control of the allies until 1680.²³⁷ Interestingly, from July 1679 we find a number of English and Scottish soldiers and officers in Glückstadt.²³⁸ They were most likely troops who had transferred from Swedish into Danish service after the fall of Stade and the occupation of Bremen and Verden by Brunswick-Lüneburg. It is not clear what happened to Patrick More after the Swedish forces left in 1676 although it seems that he stayed in Buxtehude during this time. In 1679 he sent a petition from the town to Brunswick-Lüneburg regarding interest payments from a credit he had given to the Neukloster which seems to have been successfully redeemed.²³⁹ Interestingly, in August 1680, the re-established Swedish government in Stade intervened in a case against Colonel Hay's heirs in Hamburg on More's behalf, who demanded a payment from the latter.²⁴⁰ It is unclear

²³⁴ TNA, SP82/14 fol. 216–217, Swann to ?, Hamburg, 30 July 1676.

²³⁵ According to Melville Mollison was killed in action by grapeshot during this event. Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 212. However, Swann states that he died a natural death in the allied camp on 29 July 1676. TNA, SP82/14 fol. 216–217, Swann to ?, Hamburg, 30 July 1676.

²³⁶ TNA, SP82/14 fol. 52, Swann to ?, Hamburg, 7 February 1676.

²³⁷ Böhme, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen*, 457–460; Eichberg, *Militär und Technik*, 52; Frost, *The Northern Wars*, 209–12; Nistahl, 'Die Reichsexekution', 106–114; Ulf Pauli, *Det Svenska Tyskland: Sveriges tyska besittningar 1648–1815* (Stockholm, 1989), 18.

²³⁸ Franz Schubert (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Schleswig-Holsteins* (Göttingen, 1992), vol. 13, 133–135. Between 20 July 1679 and 17 November 1695 at least ten Scots, one Irishman and one Englishman married local women at Glückstadt, signifying a much larger Scottish, Irish and English presence during this period. Some of them, like Daniel Makallasser (Macallister?, Sterling), Thomas Robinson (Culross) and Robert Marshall (Glasgow) had their place of birth explicitly stated. For other men the records list not only their origin but also their military profession. The latter include Robert Daniel (soldier, St Johnstone) and Alexander Lamm (Lamb?, soldier, Sterling).

²³⁹ STAS, Celler Akten, Rep. 5, Fach 376, Petition, Patrick More, Buxtehude, 1679.

²⁴⁰ For the case relating to Patrick Hay see above.

how the Major-General had become involved in this affair but Hamburg's officials decided to correspond with the English resident on this matter and to answer the Swedish letter according to a contract they had closed with Hay's inheritors.²⁴¹ However, More died in Buxtehude the same year, after residing there for more than thirty years. Despite this lengthy absence from Scotland he kept a lifelong attachment to his home country as can be seen from a bequest paid by his wife Margareta to the poor of his home town of Perth in 1682 and 1683.²⁴²

Scots in Brunswick-Lüneburg

From the above mention of the wars it is clear that Sweden was not the only power in the wider Elbe-Weser region to employ Scottish officers and foot soldiers. In 1665 the government of the Guelph territories was restructured following the death of Duke Christian Ludwig. His brother Georg Wilhelm then had to cede the duchy of Calenberg with its capital Hanover to a third brother, Johann Friedrich, who had so far controlled the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg. This territory was now given to Georg Wilhelm who governed from its capital Celle.²⁴³ Due to the fact that the majority of officers had followed Johann Friedrich to Hanover, Georg Wilhelm's military strength relied on an intake of foreigners.²⁴⁴ The Lutheran duke had taken the Huguenot Eléonore Desmier d'Olbreuse as his partner. Initially he had refrained from marrying her due to his earlier promise to his third brother Ernst August to remain childless in order to guarantee his or his inheritor's succession in the duchy. However, in 1676 the couple officially wed.²⁴⁵ The influence and favour of Eléonore d'Olbreuse drew a number of her fellow-believers to Georg Wilhelm's court in Celle who

²⁴¹ StAH, Senat, III-I Cl.VIII No. xa, 1680, 130, 16 August 1680.

²⁴² Perth & Kinross Council Archive, Records of Perth Burgh, B59/24/2/1–3, Bequest paid by Margareta More, Buxtehude, 9 June 1683.

²⁴³ Van den Heuvel, 'Niedersachsen', 156–159.

²⁴⁴ Andreas Flick, "Der Celler Hof ist ganz verfranzt": Hugenotten und französische Katholiken am Hof und beim Militär Herzog Georg Wilhelms von Brunswick-Lüneburg', *Hugenotten*, vol. 72/3 (2008), 102–106.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 92; Andreas Flick, 'Hugenotten am Hof der "Prinzessin von Ahlden"', *Geschichtsblätter der Deutschen Hugenotten-Gesellschaft*, vol. 43 (2008), 123; Georg Schnath, 'Georg Wilhelm', *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 6, 208; Michaela Sikora, 'Eléonore D'Olbreuse: Die Herzogin auf Raten', in *Mächtig verlockend: Frauen der Welfen: Begleitband zur Ausstellung des Residenzmuseums im Celler Schloss vom 16. Februar bis 15. August 2010* (Celle, 2010), 16–43; Henri Tollin, 'Geschichte der hugenottischen Gemeinde von Celle', *Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins*, 7/8 (1893), 4.

were allowed to hold reformed services in her private rooms in the castle.²⁴⁶ At the same time a number of Huguenot officers found employment in Brunswick-Lüneburg's army. Nevertheless, the French reformed officers were not the only foreigners to enlist. A smaller number of Catholic Frenchmen also found their way into the army, as did some Scottish officers and soldiers albeit on a smaller scale than in their previous service to Sweden. However, some of them took over highly responsible positions and became respected members of the French reformed community in Celle.²⁴⁷

Andrew Melville was one of these Scots whose military role has already been noted. He joined Georg Wilhelm's service in 1665 after a career in various European armies. Melville had fought at Worcester for Charles II, after which he returned to the continent to serve in the army of the Duke of Lorraine, in a Dragoon regiment of the Elector of Brandenburg under Count Waldeck and within the Swedish army. It was here that he met John Mollison, whom he described as 'a Scottish comrade of mine' in his war memorial, revealing an important link between the two men.²⁴⁸ After the Peace of Oliva in 1660 which saw Melville's Swedish regiment reduced, he travelled to Charles II, now restored to the thrones of England and Scotland, in the hope of reward for his earlier service, but was disappointed. Left without income, Melville took service under Count Waldeck who had been ordered by the Elector of Cologne to raise an infantry regiment against the Turks. However, when the Count became field marshal in Brunswick-Lüneburg in 1665 he recommended Melville—then a lieutenant-colonel in the army of the Elector of Cologne—to Georg Wilhelm's service.²⁴⁹ Subsequently Melville was appointed as commandant of Celle, which heralded the start of a successful and stable career for him in the Elbe-Weser region. In 1672 Melville was promoted to colonel of a regiment which was garrisoned in Harburg. This position led to some cooperation with Hamburg's authorities who, for example, arrested

²⁴⁶ Flick, 'Der Celler Hof', 91; Henri Tollin, 'Geschichte der hugenottischen Gemeinde in Celle', 5; Walter Mogk, 'Zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten in Lüneburg vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 55 (1983), 384. See also chapter 4.

²⁴⁷ Wilhelm Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen* (Hildesheim, 1960), 180; Flick, 'Der Celler Hof', 102.

²⁴⁸ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 153–154.

²⁴⁹ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 197; Bernhard R. Kroener, 'Der Krieg hat ein Loch...'. Überlegungen zum Schicksal demobilisierter Söldner nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Heinz Duchhardt (ed.), *Der Westfälische Friede: Diplomatie Zäsur, kulturelles Umfeld, Rezeptionsgeschichte* (München, 1998), 600–603.

a deserter from Melville's troops in the city in 1674.²⁵⁰ Melville fought in various expeditions of the duke's army during the Imperial war against France in Alsace (1674–1675) and in Bremen against Louis XIV's ally Sweden as mentioned above.²⁵¹ After peace was concluded at Nijmegen, Melville was made High Bailiff (*Droste*) in the county of Gifhorn in addition to his rank of brigadier, thus acquiring a civic in addition to a military office.²⁵² Following his retirement from active service in 1680 Melville accompanied George Louis of Hanover to England where he met Charles II before returning to Brunswick-Lüneburg where he received the (honorary) rank of major-general.²⁵³

There is evidence that Melville owed his social advancement not only to his military skills but also to his Calvinist confession of faith which brought the officer into contact with Eléonore d'Olbreuse and the court at Celle.²⁵⁴ Sophia of Hanover, Georg Wilhelm's sister-in-law and daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, noted that it had been Eléonore d'Olbreuse herself who had proposed a marriage between Melville and her close friend and fellow Huguenot, Nymphe de la Motte-Chevalerie.²⁵⁵ This marriage linked Melville even more closely to the reformed community at Celle where he acquired a respected position among the congregation.²⁵⁶ Furthermore, his wife linked Melville to the English envoy James Cresset who was present in Celle between 1693 and 1703. The latter also became a member of the French reformed community and married Louise Marie de la Motte who was in turn a relative of both Eléonore d'Olbreuse and

²⁵⁰ StAH, Senat, III-I Cl.VIII No. xa, 1674, 53, 16 February 1674. It is possible that another Scot, William Leslie, who was employed as a captain by Hamburg's senate, assisted in this arrest. For information on this man see Riis, *Auld Acquaintance*, vol. 2, 91.

²⁵¹ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 203–211; Felix Schütz von Brandis, *Übersicht der Geschichte der Hannoverschen Armee von 1617 bis 1866* (Hanover, 1903), 80; Kroener, 'Überlegungen zum Schicksal demobilisierter Söldner', 603.

²⁵² Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 215; Kroener, 'Überlegungen zum Schicksal demobilisierter Söldner', 603. It was in Gifhorn that Melville concluded his memoir which he dedicated to the duchess, confirming their personal relationship.

²⁵³ *RPCS, Third Series*, 1683–1684, 114–115, Supplication, Andrew Melville, without date/place; Andreas Flick, 'Als zwölfjähriger Junge durfte Georg Ernest de Melvill König Karl II. von England die Hand küssen', *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, 58/1 (1994), 18.

²⁵⁴ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 67–69.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 6–7. The current location of the original letter could not be traced. The reference in Ali-Ameer reads 'Briefwechsel der Herzogin von Sophie von Hannover mit ihrem Bruder', Preuss. Staatsarchiv, vol. 26.

²⁵⁶ Flick, 'Der Celler Hof', 93. A visible sign of Melville's standing is provided by the seating order of the first official *temple* in 1700 which reserved the first bench left of the chancel to 'the old General-Major v. Melville' and his family.

Melville's wife.²⁵⁷ Yet another small Anglo-Scottish (or British) network was thus formed in Northwest Germany. And it was added to by other Caledonians.

Andrew Melville was certainly not the only favoured Scot of reformed faith at Celle. Robert Scott enlisted in Georg Wilhelm's service during the 1670s as personal physician to the duke and his troops after having acquired a medical degree in Angers on 9 July 1673.²⁵⁸ When the first Presbytery (*Consistoire*) of the French reformed church was formed in 1688 Scott was invited along with four Huguenots, Etienne de Maxuel de la Fortière, Gabriel de Villars-Malortie, Daniel Ceaulier and J. de Lestoc, to become one of the Elders (*Ancien*) according to the wishes of the duchess.²⁵⁹ Andreas Flick has pointed out that Scott was thus the only non-French individual in a leading position in the solitary existing reformed church in Celle.²⁶⁰ This certainly reveals his status and authority in religious matters, emphasised by the fact that the physician participated as a delegate in the Synod of the Lower Saxon Confederation (*Niedersächsische Konföderation*) in 1705, which was a union of several French and German reformed communities within the three Guelph duchies and the county of Schaumburg-Lippe.²⁶¹ Furthermore, Scott was married to the Huguenot Marthe Lafleur who died sometime before 1689 when Scott took Rosie Sophie von Reinbeck, the daughter of Lüneburg's provost, as his second wife. Between both women Scott fathered 16 children of whom the latter six are listed among the christenings in the church book of the French reformed community in Celle. To one of these daughters Eléonora d'Olbreuse became godmother in 1697.²⁶² The above clearly demonstrates Scott's integration into the French reformed community and his significant standing within this institution. Scott was also linked to the German reformed community which was founded in Celle in 1709, probably through his second wife. The German reformed church book lists the confirmation of his son Wilhelm Benjamin Scott in 1710.

²⁵⁷ L. Bittner and L. Gross (eds.), *Reportorium der diplomatischen Vetreter aller Länder* (3 vols., Oldenburg and Berlin, 1936), vol. 1, 181–184; Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 117; Flick, 'Hugenotten und französische Katholiken', 93.

²⁵⁸ Andreas Flick, 'Der Ancien Dr. med. Robert Scott wurde 'zuweilen wegen seiner besonderen Fömmigkeit . . . hinterrucks verspottet und verhöhnet', *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, 56 (1992), 104; Tollin, 'Geschichte der hugenottischen Gemeinde in Celle', 3.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Flick, 'Der Ancien Dr. med. Robert Scott', 105.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 130; Flick 'Der Ancien Dr. med. Robert Scott', 104.

Furthermore, although his death was only recorded in the church book of the French reformed community, it was the minister of the German reformed church, Johann Heinrich Schmucker, who read the eulogy on Robert Scott on 11 February 1714.²⁶³

Both Melville and Scott had adhered to the reformed faith prior to their arrival at Celle. Although differences existed between the Scottish Presbyterian and the French reformed confessions, both churches were Calvinist so that both Scots probably did not find it difficult to worship in a Huguenot congregation. Moreover, it has been shown elsewhere that most Scots abroad easily adapted to the local religious circumstances and one might speculate that at least Melville could have easily attended Lutheran services, or even converted if there had been no private church in existence.²⁶⁴ Scott on the other hand took on a more sophisticated religious role within the congregation and was described by contemporaries as being particularly pious. Thus for him conversion would have been more difficult and it is possible that he chose service in Brunswick-Lüneburg particularly for the fact that the duke and duchess were sympathetic of his religion which he could not freely practice in his native country at the time of his arrival in Celle—a subject dealt with in more detail in the following chapter.²⁶⁵

Although Melville and Scott met in the French reformed community nothing is known about their relationship. However, information exists on Melville's link to John Mollison, who had entered Georg Wilhelm's army shortly after Melville. According to his memoir, Melville persuaded Mollison to accept the rank of lieutenant-colonel which Mollison initially considered as being beneath him. Shortly after taking up this rank, however, he was promoted to colonel—a position Melville thought should have been his. Nevertheless, the commandant noted that 'the friendship that existed between us induced me to suffer the injustice without complaint'.²⁶⁶ With his new position Mollison became commandant of the Lutheran city of Lüneburg. This office, which he held until 1672, demonstrates once again the trust put into Scottish military skills by European leaders.²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Flick, 'Der Ancien Dr. med. Robert Scott', 106.

²⁶⁴ Murdoch, *Network North*, 84–123.

²⁶⁵ Flick, 'Der Ancien Dr. med. Robert Scott', 104.

²⁶⁶ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 199.

²⁶⁷ StadtL, Militaria, Johan de Mollison, M2 a 2, No. 4; TNA, SP82/11 fol. 172–173, William Swann to (Arlington), Hamburg, 19 October 1670; Hartwig Notbohm, *Geschichte der Französisch-reformierten Gemeinde—Hugenotten—in Lüneburg 1684–1839* (Lüneburg, 2001), 45; For further examples see Grosjean, 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies?',

Like Melville and Scott, Mollison adhered to the reformed faith. In either 1666 or early 1667 he asked the duke for permission to employ a Calvinist minister for his regiment and to establish a private Calvinist church—a request which caused protests from Lüneburg's Lutheran ministry.²⁶⁸ Although he was probably not unsympathetic it appears that Georg Wilhelm did not consent to this petition—at least we do not have any information on the existence on such a church in the surviving documents. However, on 26 May 1673, Mollison caused more offence to local authorities when he initiated a public service in the garden of Lüneburg's former mayor Hieronymus von Laffert outside the city walls.²⁶⁹ Again, there is no information on complaints by the ministry but it is likely that he was not inclined to accept a public demonstration of reformed faith. The implied participation of a former town official demonstrates that there was a demand for reformed services among the local population. Despite his commitment to the reformed faith Mollison does not seem to have become attached to the French reformed community in Celle. This is indicated by the way he was described to Eléonore d'Olbreuse in a way which makes clear that she was not acquainted with him. This could be an indication that Melville and Mollison were not on best terms, or simply that Melville kept separate social and socio-political networks.

Apart from Melville, Mollison and Scott other Scottish officers and soldiers served in Georg Wilhelm's army but it is impossible to gauge their number or influence. However one excellent example of their continued interaction with each other is provided by Sir James Johnstone of Elphinstone who lamented on 24 April 1677 that he had 'lost a number of good friends both Dutch and other nations especially Colonel Bonar, Colonel Mollison, Major Crichton and others all dead and killed...'²⁷⁰ It is not clear if he had served with Bonar and Mollison in the Swedish army before his transfer to Brunswick-Lüneburg nor is it known where Crichton served. Of interest is the fact that he does not name the Dutch, German or other foreigners. Nevertheless, the fact that Johnstone termed these Scots as his friends reveals the existence of a Scottish network which outlasted active military service as Bonar had long retired before his death in 1674.

61–82; Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 53–77; Steve Murdoch, 'Scotsmen on the Danish-Norwegian Frontiers c1580–1680', Mackillop and Murdoch (eds.), *Fighting for Identity*, 1–28; Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally?', 143–171.

²⁶⁸ Mogk, *Zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten*, 385; Notbohm, *Geschichte der Französisch-reformierten Gemeinde*, 1.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ NAS, Smythe Family Papers, GD190/3/195, James Johnstone to his Brother-In-Law, 24 April 1677.

It is probable that several Scots served under Johnstone like the aforementioned John Wilson who was based at Winsen in May 1672 noting that his captain was a fellow countryman though not naming him.²⁷¹ Moreover, Johnstone was in contact with Scottish merchants who had met him at Hamburg but unfortunately we do not know their names or how long they stayed in the city.²⁷² Nonetheless, the strength of his military associations with Scots in numerous service is once again testament to those permeable political frontiers while his dealings with the commercial community remind us of the human associations across boundaries which are often too rigidly applied by historians to networks. Another, final, example of Scots in Brunswick-Lüneburg service is Thomas Erskine²⁷³ who was promoted to colonel of the cavalry of the Lower Saxon circle in 1683 after having served in Georg Wilhelm's army.²⁷⁴ As Sweden held the directorship of the circle (with the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg serving as co-director) the promotion came from the Swedish monarch and necessitated correspondence with the Swedish governor at Stade, Henrick Horn.²⁷⁵ Despite his change in position Erskine remained in Lüneburg until 1686 where he assisted a 'young Scottish gentleman' in finding employment at the local militia and in Swedish service—demonstrating his connections to both Brunswick-Lüneburg and Swedish officials and confirming the importance of Scottish ethnicity to many arriving in the region.²⁷⁶

²⁷¹ NAS, Kinross House Papers, GD29/2152, John Wilson to Mrs Mitchell, Winsen, 26 May 1672.

²⁷² NAS, Smythe Family Papers, GD190/3/195, James Johnstone to his Brother-In-Law, 24 April 1677.

²⁷³ Thomas Erskine was almost certainly Archibald Erskine's son and Alexander von Erskine's nephew. He was in contact with a cousin who was in Swedish service. This was probably either Alexander or Carl Gustav Erskine, both of whom were Alexander Erskine's sons.

²⁷⁴ SRA, Bremensia No. 81, Thomas Erskine to Henrik Horn, Lüneburg, 12 March 1683, 9 April 1683, 21 August 1683 and Celle, 24 May 1683.

²⁷⁵ Dotzauer, *Die deutschen Reichskreise*, 335.

²⁷⁶ SRA, Bremensia Nr. 81, Thomas Erskine to Henrik Horn, Lüneburg, 1 June 1686. The grandfather of the young Scot was described as 'famous colonel' in Swedish service and as commandant of Osnabrück. The latter part of the description fits best with James Lumsden of Invergally, who was governor of Osnabrück between 1633 and 1639 or with Matthias Forbes who was governor of the same place in 1635. Grosjean, 'A Century of Scottish Governorship', 61.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, Hamburg was a special place for the observance of Anglo-Scottish political and diplomatic cooperation due to the presence of a large group of English merchants and high profile English and Scottish diplomats and officers—and, of course, the city's neutrality. Unhindered by pro-Covenanter Swedish immigration or pro-Stuart Habsburg pressures, the city remained neutral even despite the continued claims of the King of Denmark to overlordship (made again in 1640). Hamburg demonstrably served as a meeting point throughout the century, with the English Merchant Adventurers offering support to Scottish soldiers and officers or English refugees alike. Some of these links were enduring. For example, when Patrick Gordon returned to the city in 1686 he resumed his old connections with Nathaniel Cambridge. Furthermore, he was again entertained by other Merchant Adventurers some of whom he had probably met during previous visits to the city.²⁷⁷ However, General Gordon also met with Robert Jolly with whom he travelled to Bremen via Harburg, Buxtehude and Zeven. Before continuing to Rotterdam via Oldenburg and Leer, Gordon was taken to Bremen's wine cellar by fellow Scot Gilbert Spence.²⁷⁸ To a certain extent the Scottish travelling party consisting of Mr Eliot, Mr Hume and Mr Mungo English replicated this journey three years later, meeting many of the same 'hosts'.²⁷⁹

Beyond Hamburg and Bremen, the significance of Scots for the Swedish administration of Bremen-Verden is surely apparent. It is possible to identify over fifty Scottish individuals throughout the period of Swedish administration of Bremen and Verden, most of them, however, in a sojourning capacity. The presence of Scottish officers and soldiers from the start of Swedish control over the duchies in 1645 is not surprising given their well-known role within the Swedish army. Alexander von Erskine was of utmost importance due to his roles as commissioner and president. In addition to him, out of the nine highest military positions—consisting of a major-general, a commandant of the Swedish regiment and seven governors of the fortifications—four were in the hands of Scots when the first

²⁷⁷ Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary*, 122–125. For example, Gordon attended the christening of Edward Foster's daughter Grace on 28 March 1686. StAH, Kirche der English Court, 512–6, 28 March 1686.

²⁷⁸ Botfield (ed.), *Passages from the Diary*, 122–125. It is unclear how far Jolly accompanied Gordon on this journey.

²⁷⁹ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689/17, Mungo English to Andrew Russell, Hamburg 26 October 1689; Murdoch, *Network North*, 137.

Bremen-Swedish war broke out in 1654. Two of these roles, i.e. the command over the regiment as well as the governorship of Stade, were united in the person of William Forbes. This proportionately high number of Scots in responsible positions reflects the situation in the Swedish army as a whole, particularly in regard to the ninety Scottish governors identified in various territories along the Swedish borders with Denmark-Norway, Poland-Lithuania, Russia and the German territories between 1574 and 1700 by Alexia Grosjean.²⁸⁰ However, the fact that Scots formed such a substantial group within the officer corps in Bremen-Verden demonstrates once again the amount of trust put into their skills by the Swedish government in a militarily vulnerable territory. Furthermore, some of the Scottish officials in Bremen-Verden took over multiple tasks as can be seen from the examples of William Forbes who in addition to his military duties represented Wrangel in a political capacity at the regional diet at Basdahl and Patrick More who engaged in money lending businesses to the indigenous German community in Swedish Buxtehude and neutral Hamburg.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that significant links existed among most of the permanently present high-ranking Scots in Bremen-Verden as well as between them and sojourning Scots with some of them—like Patrick Ruthven—drawing on well-known concepts of network linkages such as ‘auld acquaintance’ and kith and kin. Almost all of these Scots were known to support the exiled Stuart king and it is likely that this political leaning was one of the driving forces behind the Scottish network within the duchies—similar to and part of the one which could be proven to have been in existence in Sweden.²⁸¹

However, after the first Swedish-Bremen War the presence of Scots took on a more transient character with almost all of the aforementioned Scots in permanent positions either having left or died. An exception to this was Patrick More. Apart from him and his successor as commandant of Buxtehude, Hamilton, it is possible to find a range of other ‘Scottish’ military officials in Swedish Bremen-Verden some of whom were the offspring or relatives of those Scots in more permanent positions within the duchies. Examples include the sons of Alexander von Erskine, Baron and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Erskine, who was present in Bremen in the early 1670s, and Lieutenant-Colonel Carl Gustav Erskine who was

²⁸⁰ Grosjean, ‘A Century of Scottish Governorship’, 53.

²⁸¹ For the Swedish network see Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance*, 239–257.

part of the regiment of Major-General Bernhard Christian Wangelin in Stade in 1680.²⁸² Some of them can be proven to have held connections to the commercial and social hubs of Hamburg and Bremen and to Britons elsewhere in regions outwith Swedish control. For example in 1686 James Johnston, who was part of the garrison of Stade, asked to be pardoned from a period of confinement as he was ill and wanted to travel to the city of Bremen in order to be cured by his English doctor.²⁸³ While not studied in depth here, other Scots continued to engage themselves in the civic administration after the 1650s. For example, a man called Johan Kinnaird acted as master of supplies (*Proviantmästare*) in Stade during the 1670s and the Swedish-born Scot Georg Guthrie became state commissioner (*Stats Kommissar*) in 1682. He was an example of a Scot for whom engagement in Bremen-Verden proved to be a negative experience when his over ambitious behaviour caused him to fall out with the Governor General Henrik Horn and other officials, a dispute which left him effectively ruined.²⁸⁴ Another Scot involved in the Swedish administration of Bremen-Verden was John Drummond who was responsible for the maintenance of old and the planning of new fortifications within the duchies.²⁸⁵ However, there is no proof for these individuals being active within the duchies after the mid-1650s in any capacity other than in a Swedish one or for them forming a network with a particular 'Scottish' angle.

To a certain extent the role of Scots in Swedish Bremen-Verden was replicated in Brunswick-Lüneburg, although we find less of an obvious Scottish presence there. Nevertheless, Andrew Melville was clearly a significant military official and a respected member of the local society. However, Melville's career was certainly helped by the fact that he was of reformed religion—as was Scott's. These men can both be linked to Scottish and English Presbyterian exiles whose arrival in Brunswick-Lüneburg they almost certainly facilitated.²⁸⁶ Despite integrating into the local society and despite his long term absence from Scotland Melville, along with his son George Ernest, remained attached to his home country. The latter had been born in Celle on 8 November 1668 and acquired a respected position

²⁸² Danner, *Beiträge*, 31, 46.

²⁸³ SRA, Bremensia No. 83, Johnston to ?, Stade 14 February 1686.

²⁸⁴ Fiedler, *Die Verwaltung*, 104, 106–7, 278; Sam. Hedar, 'Georg Guthrie', in *Svenskt Biographiskt Lexicon*, vol. 17, 494–497; Murdoch, *Network North*, 53–77.

²⁸⁵ Eichberg, *Militär und Technik*, 39, 45, 62.

²⁸⁶ Moreover, Melville engaged himself in a network including his kinsmen George and David Melville who had escaped to the continent in the aftermath of the discovery of the Rye House Plot. These important network linkages will be analysed in chapter 4.

through a successful military career in Brunswick-Lüneburg. This started in the infantry regiment of Celle under his relative La Motte in 1685. After several campaigns he was promoted first to lieutenant-colonel, commandant of the regiment (1705) and major-general receiving an estate in Habighorst as reward. This presumably became the residency of his wife Lucia Anna Dorothea von Staffhorst and their four children, two of whom were registered among the christenings of the French reformed church in Celle.²⁸⁷ Although Melville was to become an elder in this community he also requested a church pew in the Lutheran St Annen garrison church in Celle which had been established in 1706 revealing some religious flexibility or pragmatism.²⁸⁸ In 1698 Melville intended to travel to 'his native country' i.e. Scotland.²⁸⁹ His Scottish roots certainly played a role for him throughout his life as can be seen from a plaque in the Lutheran Johannes Church where he was buried in January 1742. The plaque shows Melville's coat of arms as well as those of his Scottish ancestors, including the families of Balfour, Douglas, Durie, Lauders, Kelly, Marjoribanks and Swinton.²⁹⁰ This home country link led to an interesting twist for Scots in the duchies. Swedish governance of Bremen-Verden ended during the events of the Great Northern War (1700–1721) when Danish troops occupied the duchy of Bremen and Hanoverian troops entered Verden in 1712. Both duchies were eventually given to the Hanoverian Electorate in the Peace of Stockholm on 20 November 1719.²⁹¹ Ironically, any Scots still within the duchies would therefore have found themselves working for their own king, George I (1714–1727), the son of the half-Scottish Electress Sophia—whether they recognised his sovereignty or not.

²⁸⁷ Flick, 'Als zwölfjähriger Junge', 18–22.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ See chapter 4; NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/450, Andrew Melville to George Melville, Celle, February 1698.

²⁹⁰ Flick, 'Als zwölfjähriger Junge', 23.

²⁹¹ Schulze, 'Der Regierungsbezirk Stade', 220.

CHAPTER FOUR

BUILDING A REFORMED COMMUNITY? EXILES ON THE ELBE, 1630–1730

(William Waller) has promised to send for a minister (...) for any Scots or English that shall come.

(Adam Freer, Bremen, 14 December 1683)¹

The previous chapter discussed military and political networks in Northwest Germany, and it is apparent that it can be quite hard to separate out a political agenda from a confessional motivation for some of the individuals identified. Throughout the period under consideration there were several occasions when particular exiles emphasised their religious ambitions over their political ones, and even sought to build a reformed community. Other exiles harboured alternative confessions, but were found in the region nonetheless. Although the territories of the wider Elbe-Weser region officially adhered either to Calvinist or Lutheran faith, confessional alternatives existed for their inhabitants whether within or outwith their cities or home areas. However, not all of these churches were open to everyone sharing their religious beliefs, albeit some allowed limited access to other foreign groups. For example, the French reformed community in Celle was only accessible to those closely associated with Georg Wilhelm's court. Scots like Robert Scott and Andrew Melville (who were both in the region for military purposes) were not only among those who gained access to this community but also played a significant role within it. Scott's work as a church elder and religious authority clearly signifies Scottish religious activity, albeit within a French Huguenot framework. To him we can add further examples of Scottish ministers conducting Calvinist services in the region, for example within the Merchant Adventurers' church in Hamburg. The contract of 1618 between Hamburg's senate and the Merchant Adventurers expressly allowed for private religious services within the company's house provided that the congregation was not causing any public stir. The agreement specified that services were to be held in the English language but did not prescribe

¹ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/494, Adam Freer to Russell, Bremen, 14 December 1683.

any denomination.² Thus, in theory, the Adventurers' church was able to house a vast spectrum of Anglicanism or even to conduct Presbyterian services if required. Hamburg's Lutheran ministry had anticipated that the Adventurers' services would follow the Anglican liturgy. According to Heinrich Hitzgrath, a resolution of their governing body in 1617 stated that the English were not adhering to Calvinist practice and that they should thus be tolerated.³ However, until the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy, services in the Adventurers' church were almost exclusively held by Calvinist ministers.⁴ One of the earliest British ministers resident in Hamburg was the Scot Thomas Young who held the post of clergyman in the Adventurers' congregation between 1620 and 1627.⁵ Young had graduated from the University of St Andrews in 1606 before completing his studies abroad and working as tutor for John Milton in England. He held Presbyterian services at the Adventurers' church and his ministry is another obvious example of Anglo-Scottish confessional cooperation in Hamburg adding to the commercial and political networks previously discussed.⁶ The appointment of a Scottish minister over an English or British congregation was not, however, unusual. It was through such interaction that a further breaking of ethnic, even confessional barriers had been achieved. For example, the Scot William Spang acted as minister of the English Reformed Church at Middelburg in the Dutch Republic between 1652 and 1654.⁷ Elsewhere, the Scottish theologian and irenicist John Durie

² StAH, Senat, III-I CL. VI No. 2 vol. 5 Fasc. 1 Inv. 1b, Contract Hamburg/Merchant Adventurers, 1618.

³ Hitzgrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers*, 3–4.

⁴ Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven/London, 2004) p. 210; Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism. A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982), 256–7. This was with the exception of William Loe, an Anglican, who performed services at Hamburg between 1619 and 1620. He had been a cleric in Gloucester but had apparently decided to leave this post due to difficulties with Laud who had been made Dean at Gloucester in 1616. Möring refers to the Anglican church in Hamburg, although she recognises the Presbyterian background of two of its ministers. Möring, 'Die Englische Kirche', 93–112.

⁵ Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 256. Young was the minister who christened Anstruther's son in 1627.

⁶ David Laine, *Biographical Notices of Thomas Young* (Edinburgh, 1870), 4. Thomas Young was the son of William Young, minister in Perthshire who was among 42 ministers who signed a protestation to Parliament against the introduction of Episcopacy to Scotland in 1606. Lappenberg's short essay on Young does not reveal any significant information on his stay at Hamburg. J.M. Lappenberg, 'Thomas Young. Cappellan der Court der Merchant Adventurers zu Hamburg', *ZVHG*, vol. 1 (1841), 309–312.

⁷ Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 440.

became minister of the Scottish and English Presbyterian congregation in the Baltic port of Elbing in 1624.⁸ He, as will be discussed below, was to have a significant impact on the theological debates of clerics within the wider Elbe-Weser region, albeit for a limited time.

Owing to conflicts between Royalists and Parliamentarians in the British Isles and in Hamburg, the Adventurers' congregation split during the 1640s with supporters of the Stuart monarchy physically attacking the Calvinist minister, Reverend Jeremiah.⁹ They also elected their own minister who, according to Hitzgrath, had arrived in the city along with Sir John Cochrane.¹⁰ This could have been a Mr David Foulis, who had been forced to leave the British Isles for not taking the Covenant after 1639. In 1654 he had allegedly preached a sermon at Hamburg in which he denounced Cromwell, leading to his expulsion from the city after quite a protracted stay.¹¹ It is questionable if his liturgy differed significantly from Elborough's as the company's members seemed previously to have been content with Calvinist services. Though later an established Royalist, Cochrane was himself also a confirmed Presbyterian so by association the new minister most probably followed the reformed faith too. After the Restoration, Elborough received orders to conform to Anglican church rites which he initially refused to execute. Nevertheless due to increasing pressure he superficially conformed to Anglicanism but left no doubt about his true convictions.¹² He had met with English non-conformists such as the wife of Sir Archibald Johnstone of Wariston, Elisabeth, who travelled to Hamburg in the early 1660s. During this meeting she and Elborough, as well as several English and Scottish merchants, apparently discussed the difficulties nonconformists faced after the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy.¹³ Due to Elborough's nominal conformity to Anglican liturgy a small group of Congregationalists split from the larger church community in the early 1660s and retired to the home of the Adventurer Samuel Richardson to hear services by a cleric called Hammon who had

⁸ Steve Murdoch, 'Kith and Kin: John Durie and the Scottish Community in Scandinavia and the Baltic, 1624–34', in Patrick Salmon and Tony Barrow (eds.), *Britain and the Baltic. Studies in Commercial, Political and Cultural Relations 1500–2000* (Sunderland, 2003), 21–46; Murdoch, *Network North*, 108–9, 280–311.

⁹ Hitzgrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers*, 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *RPS*, Petition, 8 July 1662. Foulis sent a petition for financial assistance to the Scottish Parliament and was granted £100 Sterling.

¹² TNA, SP82/10 fol. 153, Swann to ?, Hamburg, 14 November 1663.

¹³ Richard L. Greaves, *Deliver us from Evil. The Radical Underground in Britain 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1986), 126. Unfortunately Greaves does not reveal the names of these merchants.

arrived from Newcastle.¹⁴ Their children were educated in Hamburg by Hammon's wife and by a Scottish couple, but it remains unclear who the latter were.¹⁵ However, this confessional community was short-lived as it was suppressed after the arrival of the new resident at Hamburg, William Swann in October 1663.¹⁶ Within two years Elborough was discharged from his duties for his neglect of the official liturgy and he was thereafter replaced by Thomas Griffin, an Anglican minister (1665–1682) more aligned to Canterbury.¹⁷ Thus ended a brief, but not insignificant British Calvinist community in Hamburg, albeit elsewhere in the region there were ongoing attempts to establish a more robust society of British religious exiles.

The presence of a Scottish Calvinist religious community within the United Provinces following the restoration of Episcopal church government in Scotland after 1661 has been intensively studied by historians like Douglas Catterall and Ginny Gardner.¹⁸ What has so far remained obscure is that several of the religious and political exiles initially found in places like Amsterdam or Rotterdam were subsequently attracted to the wider Elbe-Weser region during the 1680s. After the Williamite Revolution (1688/89) most of these exiles returned home. This was when another group of exiles—the Jacobites—went to the continent, their preferred destinations in Northern Europe being Russia and Sweden, or France and Italy in the South.¹⁹ Nevertheless, in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century we find a limited sojourning Jacobitean presence within the wider Elbe-Weser region whose activities will be briefly highlighted in this chap-

¹⁴ Hitzigrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers*, 19; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 260.

¹⁵ TNA, SP82/10 fol. 126, ? to Mr Foulis, Hamburg, 6 September 1662; Hitzigrath, *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers*, 19.

¹⁶ TNA, SP82/10 fol. 180–181, Swann to Henry Bennet, Hamburg, 21 June 1664; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 260.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Douglas Catterall, *Community without Borders: Scots Migrants and the Changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic c. 1600–1700* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2002); Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands 1660–1690* (East Linton, 2004). For the religious situation in Scotland after the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy see Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660–88* (London, 1976); Walter Roland Foster, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland 1661–1688* (London, 1958).

¹⁹ Research on Jacobites in these destinations includes Edward Corp et al. (eds.), *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge, 2004); Edward Corp, 'The Jacobite Presence in Toulouse during the Eighteenth Century', *Genealogies Reveals*, 5 (2004), 124–145; Murdoch, *Network North*, 313–354 (chapter 9: Jacobite Networks in the North 1715–1750.); E.H. Tayler (ed.), *The Jacobite Court At Rome in 1719. From the original documents at Fettercairn House and at Windsor Castle* (Edinburgh, 1938); Rebecca Wills, *The Jacobites and Russia 1715–1750* (East Linton, 2002).

ter in order to contrast the support mechanisms available to contesting groups of Scottish exiles.

John Durie and the Wider Elbe-Weser Region

While pursuing his ultimate goal of unity between the Protestant religions the Scottish theologian John Durie had established a widespread Scottish and international network. His acquaintances included relatives in Sweden such as Sir James Ramsay and Sir James Spens, and high profile politicians such as the Swedish chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. He was also acquainted with Swedish-based merchants and financiers including the Dutchman Louis de Geer.²⁰ These contacts facilitated Durie's missions to Sweden in 1632 and 1636, which both helped to promote his cause in Europe. Unfortunately, the Scot was forced to abort his later endeavours in Sweden after a period of only two years due to resistance from some of the Swedish clerics and complications stemming from the rising of the Covenanters in Scotland.²¹ Durie thus looked for an alternative location where he could spread his irenicist message, and he found such a haven in the wider Elbe-Weser region.

Durie had first established contact with the area in the early 1630s when passing through Hamburg on a journey from Amsterdam to the Baltic. Although his stay was short, he met with the scientist, linguist and educationalist Joachim Jungius, who was principal of Hamburg's academic school (*Gymnasium*).²² Furthermore, Durie established contacts with Joseph Averie as well as with the minister of the Adventurers' church, Jeremiah Elborough, who had replaced Young in 1629.²³ These links with the Adventurers were most likely set up by James Spens' step-brother,

²⁰ John Durie's networking in Sweden and Denmark has been extensively discussed by Steve Murdoch. See Murdoch, *Network North*, 280–312; Murdoch, 'Kith and Kin', 21–46. See also Gunnar Westin (ed.), *John Durie in Sweden 1636–1638: Documents and Letters* (Uppsala, 1936). For other aspects of Durie's life and career see Karl Brauer, *Die Unionstätigkeit John Duries unter dem Protektorat Cromwells: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Marburg, 1907); Scott Mandelbrote, 'John Dury and the Practice of Irenicism', in Nigel Aston (ed.), *Religious Change in Europe 1650–1914* (Oxford, 1997), 41–58; Thomas H.H. Rae, *John Dury and the Royal Road to Piety* (Frankfurt/Main, 1998). For a general overview see Martin Schmidt, 'John Dury', *NDB*, vol. 4, 201–202.

²¹ Murdoch, *Network North*, 299–302.

²² HP 60/5/1A–8B, Durie to Hartlib, Narrative of his German Travels, 1632; For further information on Jungius see Hans Kangro, 'Joachim Jungius', *NDB*, vol. 10, 686–689.

²³ HP60/5/1A–8B, Durie to Hartlib, Narrative of his German Travels, 1632; Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 257. Elborough had previously held a post as minister in the English church at Utrecht.

Sir Robert Anstruther, whose household resided in the city at this point of time. Another important contact deriving from this connection was Anstruther's chaplain Sampson Johnson who corresponded with Durie in the following years.²⁴ Johnson negotiated with local clerics such as Nicolaus Hunnius, superintendent of the Lübeck church, and sent Durie's works to the Danish councillor and theologian Holger Rosenkrantz, laying some ground work for Durie's later activity in the region.²⁵

In 1634 Durie returned to Hamburg in order to meet Robert Anstruther to travel with him to the Imperial diet at Frankfurt.²⁶ Whilst in the city he contacted the ministry and senate assisted by a Mr Müller. Apparently Hamburg's clerics showed some interest in Durie's work and promised to discuss it with their neighbours of Lübeck and Lüneburg. In August, Sir Thomas Roe reported that the divines of Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen had promised their cooperation with the Scot.²⁷ According to Roe, Durie had been encouraged to present a proposition to the various German states at the Frankfurt Diet which had been privately approved by them, demonstrating intensive contact between the clerics, the Scottish theologian, and a vast theological patchwork of states in Northwest Germany—Calvinist and Lutheran alike.²⁸

Despite this initial success, it was not before the spring of 1638 that Durie settled for a longer period within the region. By this time, Robert Anstruther and Sampson Johnson had moved on, forcing Durie to fall back onto alternative contacts. These included Merchant Adventurers such as Joseph Averie and Mr Aldersee, who both provided financial assistance on at least one occasion.²⁹ Moreover, Durie cultivated contacts with several of his countrymen in Swedish service, including Colonel David Leslie, Colonel William Lumsden, Lieutenant-General James King and members of the latter's family.³⁰ The Stuart ambassador extraordinary at the Hamburg conference, Sir Thomas Roe, also continued to play an

²⁴ Murdoch, 'Kith and Kin', 41–42.

²⁵ HP 42/13/5A–6B, (Sampson) Johnson to Durie, Hamburg, 9/19 September 1633; HP 42/13/9A–10B, Johnson to Durie, Hamburg, 8 April 1634. For further information on Nicolaus Hunnius see Franz Lau, 'Nicolaus Hunnius', *NDB*, Vol. 10, 68.

²⁶ *CSPD*, 1634–35, Durie to Roe, Hamburg, 23 May 1634.

²⁷ *CSPD*, 1634–35, 55, Durie to Roe, Hamburg, 1 June 1634; *CSPD*, 1634–35, 179, Roe to Laud, Bulwick, 4 August 1634.

²⁸ *CSPD*, 1634–1635, 179, Roe to Laud, Bulwick, 4 August 1634.

²⁹ HP 1/29/6A–6B, Extract of Durie's letters to Hartlib, Hamburg, 1639–1640; HP 6/4/62A–63B, Durie to (Mr Kendrick), Hamburg, 19 June 1640.

³⁰ HP2/2/11A–B, Durie to Hartlib, 14 April 1640; HP7/11/3A, James King to Hartlib, 6 May 1642.

important role for Durie, although their relationship appears to have been a largely pragmatic one. Roe had corresponded with and supported Durie since the late 1620s.³¹ At Hamburg, he provided Durie with practical help, which included free accommodation. Durie however felt overburdened with translation and other services he was supposed to deliver for Roe and his wife in return, which distracted him from his studies.³² Furthermore, he was uncomfortable with his dependency on Roe and his public role, but thought that the peace talks at Hamburg gave his cause a platform which could not be missed, stating that his

abode here is a posture not unfitt to lay these foudacons, which must bee wrought by insensible motions and impressions, and under countenance of Publick authority, which is resident in my Lord Ambassador and soe reflecteth (allso) upon mee soe farre, as I am with him. But in effect this is (but) a shew without any substance and while I am forced to attend here and stand upon this stage as one that gazeth upon the world, and is gazed upon by the world; I doe nothing materially in the spirituall parts of my worke but suspend all my thoughts in uncertainty as till I bee myne owne man and free from this tutorage into which I am brought at this tyme.³³

Despite his dissatisfaction, Durie managed to use his stay within the region for negotiations with local intellectuals and clerics. It was his declared aim to lay the foundation for future correspondences with church authorities in Bremen, Lübeck, Denmark, the Guelph university at Helmstadt and other places. In order to set up these links, Durie thought it necessary to visit these towns at least once in order to speak with the clerics face to face.³⁴ On his way from Sweden to Hamburg, Durie had stopped over at Lübeck, where he discussed his ideas with the local superintendent Nicolaus Hunnius.³⁵ While his initial debates with the Lübeck theologian were encouraging, Durie thought that it was the Calvinist city of Bremen which promised to be the most receptive place for his ideas. In fact, the Scottish theologian expressed the wish to live within the city if he could find a way to support himself there. He saw Bremen as a favourable place

³¹ Hartlib, *A Brief Relation*, 2–3; SP 16/534, Fol. 1, Durie to Roe, Frankfurt, 18/28 January 1633.

³² HP 2/6/10A–B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 27 November 1638; HP 9/1/83B–84A, Durie to (Hartlib), Hamburg, 3 May 1639; HP 9/1/84B–86A, Durie to (Hartlib), Hamburg, 10 May 1639. Moreover, he frequently complained about inadequate living conditions, which became even more cramped when Roe's wife arrived in the city with a train of servants.

³³ HP 9/1/85A–86A, Hamburg, Durie to Hartlib, 10 May 1639.

³⁴ HP 9/1/81B–82A, Durie to (Hartlib?), 26 April 1639.

³⁵ Samuel Hartlib, *A Briefe Relation of That Which Hath Been Lately Attempted to Procure Ecclesiastical Peace Amongst Protestants* (1641), 22–23.

of residence as the city maintained a library and several printers. In addition he thought that Bremen would provide a good base for correspondences and excursions to neighbouring territories, including Denmark.³⁶ But these were not all advantages Durie associated with the city. He also stated that he had seen the senate's declaration of 1635 that foreigners from Great Britain would be welcome in Bremen. Thus, he thought that the city could potentially serve as a refuge for friends, who temporarily wanted to escape the unrest in the British Isles until it was safe to return.³⁷ Although this envisaged temporary British community did not materialise, it is noteworthy that it was Durie who first saw Bremen's potential for sheltering English and Scottish refugees. As will become clear, his vision was later taken up by an Englishman, Sir William Waller.

At Bremen, Durie found several theologians, who sympathised with or even shared his beliefs.³⁸ The two most prominent of these were Conrad Bergius and Ludwig Crocius, the latter of whom maintained a reserved attitude towards the Calvinist dogma of predestination.³⁹ Bergius on the other hand believed in confessional reconciliation and had published on this subject from as early as 1627.⁴⁰ Although not all members of Bremen's consistory shared their views, representatives of this council asked the senate for permission to officially negotiate and correspond with Durie, which was granted.⁴¹ In fact, the senators listened to Durie's propositions themselves and decided to reply to him that they were not adverse to the idea of assisting in the creation of peace and unity, if the reformed church was willing to cooperate.⁴² Furthermore, they made Durie a gift of twenty Imperial dollars to show their appreciation.⁴³ The historian Otto

³⁶ HP 9/1/71B–72A, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 22 January 1639; HP 9/1/74B, Dury to Hartlib, Hamburg, 21 February 1639.

³⁷ HP 9/1/74B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 21 February 1639.

³⁸ HP 9/1/77B–78A, Durie to Hartlib, Bremen, 13 March 1639; Stephen Clucas, 'In Search of "The True Logick": Methodological Eclecticism among the 'Baconian Reformers'', in Mark Greengrass et al. (eds.), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge, 2002), 69–70.

³⁹ Walter Hollweg, 'Ludwig Crocius', *NDB*, vol. 3, 418–419.

⁴⁰ HP 2/2/11A–B, Durie to Hartlib, 14 April 1640; Robert Mießner, 'Conrad Berg(ius)', *NDB*, Vol. 2, 84–85. Bergius published one of his main works 'Grund- und Hauptsumma des wahren Christentums' in Frankfurt in 1627. While at Bremen, Dury noticed that Bergius continued to print publications which were in agreement with his own work. See HP 9/1/76B–77B, Durie to Hartlib, Bremen, 13 March 1639.

⁴¹ HP 9/1/76B–77B, Durie to Hartlib, Bremen, 13 March 1639; HP 9/1/79A, Durie to Hartlib, Bremen, 21 March 1639.

⁴² STAB, Wittheitsprotokolle, 2-P.6.a.g.c.3.b.5., 225, 16 March 1639.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 20 March 1639.

Veeck assumed that the senate's support for Durie derived from the fact that an increasing number of new Lutheran citizens settled within the city who could attend services in their own confession only within the cathedral belonging to the archbishop of Bremen.⁴⁴ This observation is certainly not without foundation. The cathedral had only just re-opened in 1638 for Lutheran services, instigated by the Danish co-adjutor Prince Frederick, the son of Christian IV. The senate thus had a strong interest in reconciling the reformed and the Lutheran churches in order to unite their citizens and to prevent them from worshipping in what was effectively externally administered territory. Durie himself noted that the introduction of Lutheran ministers would cause disquiet in the city which in turn could help his cause as conflict would enhance the chance of 'peacable undertakings and counsels of agreement.'⁴⁵ In addition, the situation would offer him the chance to negotiate with Danish clerics in Bremen, if he was able to move permanently to the city.⁴⁶

Durie's wish to reside in Bremen for a longer period did not materialise but he continued to maintain contact with the local clerics after his return to Hamburg. Crocius for example asked the Scot to send part of his writings to the English bishops Davenant and Hall in order to receive their verdict on his work. As his (Crocius') work was controversially discussed, he needed a foreign authority to take his side.⁴⁷ Durie himself sought to mediate in the theological debates between this Bremen scholar and his opponents.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, it is impossible to come to a conclusion if and to which extent the English bishops or Durie himself impacted on the theological discussions thriving in Bremen at the time. But we do know that Durie did not convince all clerics of his idea of reconciliation. Henrik Alting for example, who was the principal of Bremen's academic school and one of Crocius' enemies, made an official complaint about Durie to the councillor of the Elector Palatinate, Johann Joachim von Rusdorff.⁴⁹

Whereas Bremen's theologians remained divided in their support for Durie, the Scot was able to acquire an official endorsement from their Danish counterparts. Contact with Denmark's leading theologians had been established by Robert Anstruther and Sampson Johnson in 1633.

⁴⁴ Veeck, *Geschichte der Reformierten Kirche Bremens*, 153–154.

⁴⁵ HP 9/1/77B–78A, Durie to Hartlib, Bremen, 13 March 1639.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ HP 1/29/1A–13A, Extracts from Durie's letters, 1639–1640.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ HP 2/2/11A–B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 14 April 1640.

Both men were acquainted with the Danish Privy Council (*Rigsråd*) and theologian Holger Rosenkrantz who promised to introduce Durie's writings into Sorø academy and Copenhagen's university.⁵⁰ Durie himself established contact with Rosenkrantz and it was through him that the Scot became known to other members of the Danish political elite. In 1639 Durie met with the Danish chancellor Detlev von Reventlow at Glückstadt to discuss his intended course of action if he was to travel to Denmark.⁵¹ Importantly, Reventlow recommended Durie's work to the Danish king and to the local divines. Christian IV evidently saw potential in Durie's proposals and forwarded them to theologians at the University of Copenhagen who in turn sent an endorsement and an offer of cooperation to Durie at Glückstadt.⁵² Durie, however, was sceptical of the involvement of the Danish monarch and feared that Christian IV had pushed his work too soon onto an open stage without proper theological debate.⁵³ He seemed to be particularly worried that the king had forced his works onto the Danish divines without genuinely convincing them. Christian IV's interest in confessional reconciliation was almost certainly driven by economic and political considerations rather than by theological ones. This was not least as a manifest support for Lutheran and Calvinist church unity would have eased communal life within the multi-confessional towns of Altona and Glückstadt and made his territories even more attractive to adherents of both confessions.

Due to his concerns, Durie was reluctant in his answer to the Danish clerics proposing 'a way of deliberation which is more theological then they did expect.'⁵⁴ He was more interested in finding out their true convictions rather than simply having an ill-considered endorsement forced at the behest of the Danish monarch.⁵⁵ Durie was clearly convinced that his cause would not succeed by royal edict or public agitation but rather through quiet, persistent and genuine debate with divines and political authorities. He thus sought to limit the publicity of his negotiations and postponed his journey into Denmark by visiting other neighbouring territories first.⁵⁶ However, a culmination of factors intervened to undermine any support he might receive from the Danish crown: his theological

⁵⁰ Murdoch, *Network North*, 293.

⁵¹ HP 9/1/79B, Copy Letters, Durie to (Hartlib?), Hamburg, 12 April 1639.

⁵² HP 9/1/88B–89B, Durie to Hartlib, Glückstadt, 23 July 1639.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ HP 9/1/89B–90A, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 6 August 1639.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

discussions with the Danish divines in combination with the outbreak of the Bishop Wars' in Britain seriously impacted on Christian IV's attitude to Durie. When the Danish king learned that the Scottish theologian and the Danish clerics had advanced their negotiations, he deliberated that Durie should receive official backing from the British monarch before they could proceed with an agreement, and this at a time when Christian knew that Charles I was otherwise disposed.⁵⁷

Durie sought to circumvent Christian by entering into direct negotiations with him in Holstein in February 1640.⁵⁸ Given the existing difficulties, not least Christian's belief that he was outflanked, it is not surprising that Durie's audience with the Danish monarch, did not lead to any concrete agreements. The only result of Durie's second stay in Glückstadt was that he presented Chancellor Reventlow with a new set of theological deliberations which the latter was to pass on to the divines at Copenhagen. Unfortunately, we do not know how these writing were received, although we may surmise. The Danish clerics are not further mentioned in Durie's correspondence thereafter, so we can assume that they did not continue to seriously deal with the Scottish theologian and perhaps conclude that Christian IV and his family were behind this.

The talks in Glückstadt may have been further complicated by the attendance of the archbishop of Bremen (Christian IV's son) Prince Frederick. It is doubtful if Frederick supported the idea of Protestant unity in light of the situation within the city of Bremen. The Lutheran cathedral within the city walls functioned as a symbol of his power and it is thus unlikely that the archbishop wanted to unite his ministers with those of Bremen.⁵⁹ Frederick certainly gave Durie permission to treat with his two chief divines when Durie travelled to his territory in March 1640, but it is debatable if his support was wholehearted.⁶⁰ In any case, Durie's initial discussions with divines at Bremervörde and at Stade proved unsuccessful. Despite these disappointments, Durie's activity in Glückstadt had some positive effects on his work. Christian IV's presence drew a number of neighbouring rulers to the town who in turn noticed Durie's activities. During his first stay in Holstein in August 1639 Durie met with the Duke of

⁵⁷ HP 6/4/72A, Durie to Roe, Hamburg, 24 July 1640; Hartlib, *A Briefe Relation*, 24–25.

⁵⁸ Hartlib, *A Briefe Relation*, 29.

⁵⁹ Milada Blekastad thinks otherwise but does not explain in detail why the archbishop would have favoured confessional unity in his territory. Milada Blekastad, *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komensky* (Oslo, 1969), 288.

⁶⁰ HP 1/29/3B–1/29/4B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 8/18 March 1640.

Lüneburg who offered to back his cause.⁶¹ This encounter initiated a journey to the Guelph territories which Durie undertook between December 1639 and February 1640. His first planned destination was the University of Helmstedt in Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. The leading divines at this institution pursued an irenicist agenda and had informed Durie of their support and that of Duke August as early as 1634.⁶² On his way to Helmstedt, Durie passed through the town of Brunswick where he met with some of the senators who had been ordered by the duke to find out Durie's intentions. Having discussed the Scot's ambitious project, Duke August arranged a conference between John Durie, the general superintendent Heinrich Wideburg (later professor of divinity and logic at Helmstedt), the Lutheran bishop Johan Haspelmacher and Georg Calixtus, one of the most significant seventeenth century Lutheran irenicists and scholars at Helmstedt.⁶³ The duke himself was also present during the talks, which resulted in a declaration on joint future proceedings.⁶⁴ From Brunswick Durie moved on to meet Duke George of Lüneburg at Hildesheim having received a letter of recommendation from Duke August, George's cousin. In Hildesheim, Durie was entertained by the duke over the Christmas period and discussed his cause with the chief divines and with the duke's councillors.⁶⁵ George Calixtus who had accompanied Durie on his journey also participated in these negotiations.⁶⁶ Durie's report about his treatment by Duke George was enthusiastic. Not only had he treated him like an ambassador but the divines and councillors would apparently have been serious enough to agree to 'a particular transaction & conclusion of matters' if Durie had suggested one.⁶⁷ However, Durie stated that he had persuaded them to choose a less forward, moderate way which aimed to persuade further rulers and councils to cooperate instead of alienating them with rash decisions.⁶⁸ Like their counterparts in Brunswick the

⁶¹ HP 9/1/88B–89B, Durie to Hartlib, Glückstadt, 23 July 1639.

⁶² W.C. Dowding, *The Life and Correspondence of George Calixtus: Lutheran Abbot of Königsutter, and Professor Primarius in the University of Helmstedt* (Oxford/London, 1863), without page numbers.

⁶³ HP 1/29/3B–1/29/5A, Durie to Hartlib, 8/18 March 1640; Anonymous, 'Dury, Calixtus and the Peacemakers', *Christian Remembrancer Quarterly Review*, vol. 29 (1855), without page numbers; Ernst Ludwig Henke, *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit* (Halle, 1860), vol. 2, without page numbers.

⁶⁴ HP 1/29/3B–1/29/5A, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 8/18 March 1640.

⁶⁵ HP 2/2/1A–4B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 8/18 March 1640.

⁶⁶ Hartlib, *A Briefe Relation*, 26–27.

⁶⁷ HP 2/2/1A–4B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 8/18 March 1640.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

participants of the Hildesheim conference set forth a written resolution which was signed by the divines and determined the further course of action. George Calixtus was to formulate treaties which were to be sent to the Lutheran universities of Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena, Marburg, Rostock and further academic institutions in Brandenburg, Hessen and Bremen. These were to be followed up by personal visits of divines to professors at Saxony and Wittenberg in order to convince them to cooperate in the irenicist cause. Duke George on the other hand was to use his influence with the Dukes of Saxon Weimar to persuade them to move the scholars at their university of Jena to support the strive for Protestant unity.⁶⁹ When these proceedings had yielded results, it was envisaged that divines from Great Britain were to join John Durie on the continent, whereas local clerics were to travel to England for further debates. All of these endeavours were designed to lead towards a conference between sovereign princes to discuss and decide on the possibility of religious reconciliation.⁷⁰

The Brunswick and Hildesheim resolutions were undoubtedly successes in Durie's project and exceeded the debates in other territories, despite the fact that the planned major conference between sovereign princes did not materialise. In March 1640 the Dukes of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick-Lüneburg met with the archbishop of Bremen, apparently to discuss Durie's cause.⁷¹ It may have been this meeting which initiated further discourses between the archbishop, the divines of Buxtehude and Stade and Durie later in the year.⁷² Moreover, Durie's stay invigorated the theological debates of the Guelph rulers and divines which resulted in concrete, written agreements. And these resolutions were not the end of Durie's activity within the Hanoverian territories. From Hildesheim the Scot moved on to the third Guelph ruler, Duke Frederick, whose court then resided at Celle. Durie informed Frederick and his chief divines of the decisions made at Brunswick and Hildesheim and received a general consent. Thereafter, Durie travelled to the city of Lüneburg where he also acquainted the chief ministers with the various agreements made future activities planned.⁷³

After his return to Hamburg, Durie remained in contact with the Guelph dukes and their divines, becoming involved in some internal theological

⁶⁹ Ibid.; Hartlib, *A Briefe Relation*, 27.

⁷⁰ Hartlib, *A Briefe Relation*, 27.

⁷¹ HP 1/29/11B–13A, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 20 March 1640.

⁷² HP 6/4/89A–92B, Durie to (Roe), Hamburg, 20 October 1640.

⁷³ HP 2/2/1A–4B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 8/18 March 1640.

debates. For example, Durie acted as moderator in a conflict between Calixtus and his main opponent Statius Buscherus.⁷⁴ Recognising a similarity in the religious debates in Bremen and the Guelph territories he also set up a correspondence between Conrad Bergius and Georg Calixtus contributing to the theological exchange between these two scholars across territorial borders and confessions.⁷⁵ Furthermore, he sourced and purchased scholarly works in England for Duke George's vast library and his clerics, including Calixtus.⁷⁶ This dissemination of written works and intellectual ideas from the British Isles through Durie was not confined to the Guelph territories. With the help of his friend Samuel Hartlib, the Scot sourced and facilitated the import of a number of scientific and religious books. These included scientific writings for Johann Adolf Tassius, a Hamburg mathematician with whom Durie was acquainted.⁷⁷ Moreover, Durie initiated the print of several British treatises in Bremen and Hamburg in addition to the print of his own deliberations.⁷⁸ He furthered this intellectual discourse by sending scholarly works deriving from the northwest German territories back to England, including Calixtus' own contribution to the debate on church unity.⁷⁹

Importantly, this cultural exchange of religious and scientific ideas was not confined to written works, but also included the movement of people. For example, in June 1640, Durie asked his correspondent Samuel Hartlib to aid the settlement of a young scholar from Anhalt, called Daniel Sachsus, in England. The contact with this man, who according to Durie hoped to become a correspondent for the cause of religious unity, had been established by the Bremen theologian Crocius.⁸⁰ Moreover, Durie recommended another 'young man' to Samuel Hartlib so that he might help him to study at the English universities.⁸¹ This individual (whose name

⁷⁴ Hartlib, *A Brief Relation*, 31.

⁷⁵ HP 2/2/1A-4B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 8/18 March 1640; Hartlib, *A Brief Relation*, 31.

⁷⁶ HP 2/2/1A-4B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 8/18 March 1640; HP 6/4/64A-67B, Durie to Roe, Hamburg, 19 June 1640; HP 1/29/1A-14B, Extracts from Durie's Letters, 1639-1640.

⁷⁷ HP 9/1/75A, Durie to Hartlib, Burg, 22 February, 1639; HP 2/2/4B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 8/18 March 1640. For more information on Tassius see for example W. Sillem, 'Johann Adolf Tassius', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (56 vols., Leipzig, 1875-1912), vol. 37, 411-412.

⁷⁸ HP 1/29/1A-14B, Extracts from Durie's Letters, 1639-1640; HP 9/1/89B-90A, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 6 August 1639.

⁷⁹ HP 2/2/42A-B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 6 November 1640.

⁸⁰ HP 2/2/11A-B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 14 April 1640.

⁸¹ HP 2/2/22A-23B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 12 June 1640.

we do not know) had previously worked as a tutor to a merchants' son in Hamburg and maintained close connections to influential people in the city as well as to Calixtus. Durie hoped that his recommendation would further his relationships with these contacts in Germany while presumably giving him another ally in England.

It is impossible to quantify Durie's impact on the religious debates and the drive for church unity within the wider Elbe-Weser region. However, from the above it becomes clear that the Scot influenced the contemporary theological debates to some degree, initiating various meetings and communication in Northwest Germany. His visit inspired the negotiations at Brunswick and Hildesheim which had a demonstrable outcome and his travels facilitated the cross-confessional and inter-confessional communication between divines in different territories, contributing to the correlation of the region. In addition, Durie's contact with the region may have helped individual refugees from the British Isles, such as the Archbishop of Cashel in Ireland, Archibald Hamilton. The latter had been forced into exile by the Irish rebellion of 1641. He petitioned Bremen's authorities from the Dutch Republic in 1647 to sponsor him with a sum of money. This led to a transfer of 40 Imperial dollars from the senate after some initial hesitation—a curious donation from the Calvinist city to an Episcopal office holder (albeit Hamilton's Episcopal beliefs were, in his own words, firmly Calvinist).⁸² We know for certain that Durie was connected to Hamilton as he had been recommended to him by Durie's uncle Sir David Ramsay.⁸³ Since Durie was also acquainted with Bremen's officials it is likely that it was him who created this link which could thus signify another minor network building victory of his work at Bremen.

Of course, Durie's endeavours were ultimately unsuccessful in that Protestant unity was not achieved in his lifetime (and has not been yet). But he himself did not expect an absolute or immediate result. Instead he counted on the effect of gentle persuasion and genuine debate behind the scenes: 'laying the foundations' of religious peace is a recurring theme in his letters. The wider Elbe-Weser region proved to be an area which offered a number of advantages to Durie in this respect, not least as the main communication centres of Hamburg and Bremen gave the Scot access to printers and as such aided in the dissemination of his ideas. In

⁸² StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1647–1648, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.6, 58, 15 June 1647; 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.6, 93, 12 November 1647. For information on Hamilton see Murdoch, *Network North*, 105–107.

⁸³ Murdoch, 'Kith and Kin', 34.

addition, the furtherance of religious toleration for economic reasons in places like Altona, Glückstadt, Hamburg and even Bremen meant that his ideas fell on more fertile ground than in other places, at least in theory. And last but not least, cross-border interaction allowed Durie to make the acquaintance of a wide circle of Calvinist and Lutheran clerics and academics, some of whom were to play a significant role within his intellectual network.

Owing to his conviction that only a process of quiet discussion and theological studies could deliver lasting effects, Durie regarded his involvement with and dependence on public figures such as Christian IV or Thomas Roe as a hindrance. However, his work depended on official support, which guaranteed his financial survival. This was an on-going dilemma for Durie. None of the local sovereigns or city senates agreed to finance his activities, demonstrating that their enthusiasm for Durie's ideas remained limited to largely notional support rather than tangible assistance.⁸⁴ When Thomas Roe departed from the region in 1640 the Scot's difficulties increased. His plan to take over the post as co-adjutor to the minister of the English church at Hamburg came to naught.⁸⁵ Despite this setback Durie stated that he still had acquaintances within the city, who trusted him enough to assist him in times of need. They were probably the main reason as to why Durie told Roe that Hamburg (and not Bremen) was now his preferred place of residence.⁸⁶ However, Durie's letters to Hartlib made it clear that in reality he continued to prefer Bremen as a potential place of residence.⁸⁷ As Durie's endeavours to gain a stable income in either Hamburg or Bremen did not materialise, he left the region in December 1640. However, this was not the end of his contact with Northwest Germany. After his departure Durie remained in contact with friends and acquaintances, including Joseph Averie and the Hamburg minister Elborough.⁸⁸ He even briefly returned to the region in June 1643 to accompany Averie's new wife, Elizabeth Ogle, on her

⁸⁴ Financial troubles are a recurring theme in Durie's letters. See for example HP 2/2/40A, Durie to Hartlib, 20 October 1640.

⁸⁵ HP 6/4/64A–67B, Durie to Roe, Hamburg, 19 June 1640; HP 6/4/68A–69B, Durie to (Roe), Hamburg, 3 July 1640. Durie planned replace the current holder of the post Mr Warren. Warren was meant to return to England and to receive a sum equivalent to his income in Hamburg from Durie's rental income in exchange for the office.

⁸⁶ HP 6/4/64A–67B, Durie to Roe, Hamburg, 19 June 1640.

⁸⁷ HP 2/2/33A–33B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 7 August 1640; HP 2/2/35A–B, Durie to Hartlib, Hamburg, 14 August 1640.

⁸⁸ HP 6/4/133A–134B, Durie to Averie, London, 4 April 1642.

journey from the United Provinces to Hamburg via Emden.⁸⁹ During this stay he resumed his negotiations with the local divines, encouraged by writings from the chief professor of Helmstadt and the superintendents of the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg who invited him to continue their cooperation and correspondence. Furthermore, Durie continued his talks with the divines and political authorities of Lübeck, which he hoped would stimulate further debates not only with them but also with the ministers and senators of Hamburg. Returning to the United Provinces, Durie also visited the divines of Bremen and Oldenburg as well as the superintendent of the Count of East Frisia. He had already become acquainted with the latter, as both men had met in Brunswick-Lüneburg, where the superintendent had worked as Duke George's chaplain.⁹⁰

Durie's later talks in Hamburg seemed to have had some immediate effects. On 19 June 1643 the Scot reported to Andrew Ramsay and Alexander Henderson, ministers in Edinburgh, that the Hamburg senate had given permission to the divines to correspond with neighbouring Lutheran churches and universities to discuss and prepare the means of a settlement.⁹¹ Furthermore, the head of divines had apparently agreed that in a first step to church unity the foundations of common opposition of both Lutheran and Calvinist divines to the Catholic church should be collected and subscribed to by the heads of all protestant churches.⁹² Apart from these limited theological successes, Durie's activity in the region also laid foundations for renewed British relations with Northwest Germany, four decades after his departure. From 1683 the region became the focus of a group of Scottish and English exiles of the Stuart Restoration who sought new places of refuge on the continent. They were led by the Englishman Sir William Waller, the son of the Cromwellian officer of the same name with whom Durie had been acquainted. Durie had advertised the region to William Waller senior in 1640, reporting about the general openness of some of its rulers, and in particular that of the Guelph dukes, to religious unity and toleration.⁹³ We can assume that Waller informed his son of these conditions who took up negotiations to settle a refuge community, first in the city of Bremen and then in the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

⁸⁹ HP 6/4/153A–156B, Durie to Roe, Hamburg, 12 June 1643.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ HP 2/10/1A–2B, Durie to Andrew Ramsay and Alexander Hinderson, Hamburg, 9/19 June 1643.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ HP 6/4/28A–29B, Durie to (William) Waller, Hamburg, 14 February 1640.

William Waller and the Reformed Community at Lüneburg

Although individual confessional migrants were discussed in the previous section, it was only from November 1683 that the wider Elbe-Weser region received larger groups of English and Scottish political and religious exiles.⁹⁴ Until that point the main host nation for such confessional refugees had been the United Provinces.⁹⁵ The arrival in Bremen of the Englishman Sir William Waller and of the Scot Sir George Melville represented a new phase of their exile experience. As Ginny Gardner has shown, these non-conformists received assistance in the Netherlands from existing expatriate communities centring around the Scots and 'English' churches which provided aid for fellow countrymen, not least through poor relief.⁹⁶ The core of the Scottish exile community in the United Provinces consisted of a group of ministers who in some cases became incumbents of these Scottish churches. They were joined by a group of approximately 170 laymen as well as by a number of expatriates associated and sympathising with them, including the Scottish factor at Rotterdam, Andrew Russell.⁹⁷ Although the group of lay exiles were attached to the Presbyterian faith their motivation to leave the British Isles was not always rooted in their religion but sometimes in political intrigue—albeit the two can be hard to separate. Some men were suspected of involvement in the Bothwell Bridge rising (in Scotland) or in the alleged Rye House Plot (in England) in 1683.⁹⁸ The conspirators included George Melville (the future 1st Earl of Melville) who attached himself to the court of the Prince of Orange and who was accompanied into exile by his son David Melville.⁹⁹ The Melvilles certainly met with other exiles in the Netherlands and, moreover, George Melville had been or became acquainted with the Englishman and Presbyterian Sir William Waller. Sir William had been a London JP (1678–1681) and Westminster MP (1679–1681) and had consistently shown a demonstrably

⁹⁴ Some of the arguments brought forward in this subchapter have been outlined in Kathrin Zickermann, 'English and Scottish Exiles in Northwest Germany c. 1683–1709', *Études Écossaises*, vol. 13 (2010), 41–58.

⁹⁵ Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands 1660–1690* (East Linton, 2004); Murdoch, *Network North*, 111–112.

⁹⁶ Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 1–2, 29–30. Although being called 'English' the congregations of these churches were often predominantly Scottish.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 9–24.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 17–18.

⁹⁹ Margaret D. Sankey, 'David Melville, Third Earl of Leven and Second Earl of Melville (1660–1728)', *DNB* (online publication); John R. Young, 'George Melville, Fourth Lord Melville and First Earl of Melville (1636–1707)', *DNB* (online publication).

anti-Catholic attitude throughout his career. He had been temporarily arrested for debts in 1681 and left the British Isles shortly after his release in the hostile climate of later Stuart Britain.¹⁰⁰ Both men were connected to the Duke of Monmouth—Melville through his wife's younger stepsister, the countess of Buccleuch, and Waller through his sister Elizabeth who had produced an illegitimate child with the duke.¹⁰¹ It may have been this connection which facilitated their meeting in Bremen in the winter of 1683/84.

For the religious exiles the Netherlands had provided a relatively safe environment since the Restoration of 1660. The Treaty of Breda (1667) between Charles II and the Dutch government, however, stated that those Britons accused of regicide could be extradited without formal demand from London and that political exiles were to be banished on the request of the Stuart Court.¹⁰² Although the Dutch authorities tended to be slow to comply with demands, the climate in the United Provinces became more insecure in the aftermath of the Rye House Plot, as the capture and subsequent execution of the suspect Thomas Armstrong in 1684 demonstrated.¹⁰³ With the Dutch now complying with British requests to target the more radical exiles, some began to look for safer refuge.

From November 1683 we find William Waller, George Melville and Dr Adam Freer in the city of Bremen.¹⁰⁴ Waller took the lead in negotiations with the senate regarding the settlement of English and Scottish families of 'true reformed religion'.¹⁰⁵ On 14 December 1683, Freer informed Andrew Russell that 'any person that thinks themselves not secure in Holland may come here to Bremen, where they will be assured of all protection which this state is capable to give'¹⁰⁶ revealing that personal safety was one reason for the talks with the Bremen authorities and British exiles. Furthermore, he stated that Waller had promised to send for a minister for 'any Scots or English' who would settle in Bremen, indicating that a

¹⁰⁰ Alan Marshall, 'Sir William Waller (c. 1639–1699)', *DNB* (online publication).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, John R. Young, 'George Melville, Fourth Lord Melville and First Earl of Melville (1636–1707)', *DNB* (online publication).

¹⁰² Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 104–106.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 105; Richard L. Greaves, 'Sir Thomas Armstrong', *DNB* (online publication). Armstrong was captured by agents en route to Amsterdam in June 1684.

¹⁰⁴ Their presence is briefly noted in Murdoch, *Network North*, 111–112.

¹⁰⁵ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/494, Adam Freer to Russell, Bremen, 14 December 1684; StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Privileges granted to the English Manufacturers by the City of Bremen (copy), Bremen, 1 December 1683.

¹⁰⁶ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/494, Adam Freer to Russell, Bremen, 14 December 1684.

considerable number of exiles were expected and that the establishment of a British reformed church community was envisaged.

It is perhaps not too surprising that Waller chose Bremen for his project rather than any other location. The local authorities had for many years been open to individuals of the reformed faith coming into the city, and (as previously mentioned) Waller had been informed about their attitude by his own father and John Durie.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Bremen's confession had attracted some Scottish ministers and students who may or may not have been religious exiles themselves. For example, in August 1668 a Scot called John Ruthven sat his divinity exam in the city.¹⁰⁸ Also, a D. Niclas Rolandus, who was styled *Scoto-Britannus*, conducted a service on behalf of a local minister on 29 September 1682.¹⁰⁹ It may have been him who liaised with Robert Hamilton, the Scottish agent of the United Societies, a union of various radical Cameronian groups with bases in Leuwarden and Groningen, who received a sum of eighty 'ducatoons' from Bremen's ministry.¹¹⁰

Although there is no smoking gun, it is inconceivable that Rolandus did not help with Waller's negotiations in 1683. The latter's requests to the senate included the foundation of a church with two ministers to be paid by the city as well as the permission for the congregation to have its 'own discipline' in church matters. In addition, he demanded citizen rights and privileges for the migrants as well as admission to the guilds for half of the usual payment. Furthermore, he planned to encourage the opening of a wool factory, requesting the right to employ poor people for the duration of seven years. As if he had not sought enough, Waller asked for an exemption from excise and consumption taxes for the duration of thirty years as well as for the granting of building sites for houses which the incomers were to keep tax free for forty years.¹¹¹ Thus Waller attempted to create a community big enough to justify and sustain its own congregation and elders, probably based on the model of the Scots and English churches in the United Provinces. In terms of economic and political advantages, however, he aspired to an integration of the incomers

¹⁰⁷ See chapter 1.

¹⁰⁸ StAB, Acta Venerandi Ministerii 1667–1707, 2-T.2.b.4.c., 6, 2 August 1686.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 86, 14 and 29 September 1682.

¹¹⁰ I would like to thank Mark Jardine for providing this information. Michael Shields, *Faithful Contendings Displayed* (Glasgow, 1780), 207–208; Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 58. The donation of this sum is not listed in the records of the ministry in Bremen. StAB, Acta Venerandi Ministerii 1667–1707, 2-T.2.b.4.c.

¹¹¹ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683–1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 473–474, 23 November 1683.

with the indigenous population through the acquisition of citizen rights with long-term economic privileges. For his own benefit and to secure a livelihood Waller asked to be made commandant, and the community would certainly have benefited from Waller's employment in this capacity bringing one of their own into a powerful position within the city.¹¹² On 1 December 1683 Waller was indeed employed by the city for a salary of 1,000 Imperial dollars by a contract which made him commander-in-chief of the local militia.¹¹³ Waller's demands reveal that commercial opportunities were crucial to him. This is confirmed by Freer's appraisal of the excellent opportunities the city offered such as citizen rights, cheap houses and food.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, he also stated that the city housed a college with thirteen or fourteen ministers, indicating that the place would also be attractive to students. Waller thus probably attempted to attract a larger group of profitable exiles and expatriates to Bremen who would be beneficial to the city and who would be able to shelter a smaller group of political exiles whose presence alone would presumably not have been acceptable to the authorities.

Waller's requests to the senate were successful to a certain extent. Bremen's officials approved the use of a local church (*Klosterkirche*) at certain times as well as the employment of two ministers who were to be paid by the congregation.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, they granted free citizen rights to those arriving within the following three years as well as the exemption from direct taxes for twenty years. Moreover, the incomers were offered building sites for houses and were said to be allowed to keep their houses tax free for a period of ten years. However, they were expected to pay consumption taxes. In order to facilitate the establishment of factories, the privileges stated further that both male and female children in the poor houses would be urged to work in factories for seven years in return for board and lodgings. In addition, the admission of craftsmen was permitted in principle (and for a fee) but only if it did not violate the rights of the local guilds.¹¹⁶ Notably, these privileges were given to 'families of the true

¹¹² Ibid., 481, 30 November 1683.

¹¹³ StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, 2-R.5.d.13.a.19, Appointment, William Waller, 1 December 1683; Murdoch, *Network North*, 111–112.

¹¹⁴ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/494, Adam Freer to Russell, Bremen, 14 December 1684.

¹¹⁵ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Privileges, Bremen City to the English Manufacturers (copy), Bremen, 1 December 1683.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. Dünzelmann has transcribed (another version of) this document and mentions Waller's negotiations. However, she fails to identify him or to contextualise his discussions with the senate. Dünzelmann, *Vom Gaste*, 135–136.

reformed religion' thus subsuming not only Scots and Englishmen but also other eligible nationals. This probably met Waller's approval as the attraction of a large number of profitable migrants would support his goal of sheltering political exiles. In fact, it was probably Waller himself who tried to attract a French entrepreneur to the city. The latter (who has not yet been identified) had arrived in Amsterdam from France and aimed to open a wool and silk factory in Bremen to which end he was accompanied by twenty skilled employees.¹¹⁷ His request was entered into the council's minute book under the headline 'English families' indicating Waller's involvement. Waller had established contact with a number of French Huguenots in the United Provinces, some of whom were in contact with Scottish and English exiles who met at the court of the Duke of Orange and it is possible that our Frenchman was one of them.¹¹⁸ Nonetheless his presence raises the point of terminology used in the minute book which exclusively refers to the reception of the 'English nation' or 'English families' contrary to terms of the agreement.¹¹⁹ This can partly be explained by the fact that it was an Englishman leading the negotiations and that it may have been primarily English individuals who were expected.¹²⁰ What is certain is that Waller's community was envisaged as multi-ethnic from the outset.

Waller's negotiations provoked a strong reaction by the English resident at Hamburg, Bevil Skelton, who informed Charles II and other Stuart diplomats about the events. Sir Richard Bulstrode passed on the following information from Skelton to Lord Preston:

Sir William Waller plays the devill at Bremen, which is like to be the nest of all those persons accused of the last conspiracy, that my Lord Melvin (Melville) and many more of that stamp, are there, as also Armstrong¹²¹ and Ferguson,¹²² and that they expect the Duke of Monmouth there very speedily;

¹¹⁷ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683–1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 501, 25 January 1684.

¹¹⁸ Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 2. For Waller's contacts with French Huguenots see below.

¹¹⁹ StAB Bremen, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683–1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 471–491, 19 November 1683–2 January 1684.

¹²⁰ See chapter 2.

¹²¹ Thomas Armstrong who—as previously stated—was captured and executed in 1684. Greaves, 'Sir Thomas Armstrong', *DNB* (online publication).

¹²² Robert Ferguson, son of William Ferguson of Badifurrow in Aberdeenshire, moved to London in the 1650s where he became active in Whig politics by the late 1670s. After becoming a suspect he fled to the continent, initially to Amsterdam. He was one of Monmouth's main advisors and took part in the invasion. Thereafter he managed to

they speak most scandalously of the King and Duke and style Waller a second Cromwell.¹²³

It was also probably Skelton who advised Charles II in March 1684 that Waller was 'drawing to him all the disaffected persons he can under pretence of setting up a woollen manufacture' trying to ship whole families from Yarmouth to Bremen—an action which was to be hindered at all costs.¹²⁴ This direct linking of groups of Scottish and English exiles and the attempts to take still more Englishmen directly out of England again confirms the pan-British nature of the Bremen exiles and their projected community. In order to gather support from Bremen's neighbours, Skelton was also keen to highlight the economic disadvantages of the potential settlement of Scots and Englishmen in the city. Almost certainly following his reports, Hamburg's authorities wondered if Bremen aimed to establish a second English company—a suspicion Bremen's senate was keen to refute.¹²⁵ It is unclear if the factory was ever established as it certainly fails to appear in Bremen's surviving records. A Bremen senator, Dithmar Wachmann reported on 24 December 1683, however, that the first English families destined to work in this enterprise had arrived in the city.¹²⁶

Nevertheless, a British community as envisaged by Waller did not materialise due to pressure exerted by Charles II and Bevil Skelton, who probably had an informant in Bremen. This was almost certainly Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes who tried to ruin Waller's reputation—an action not popular with the senate who discussed evicting the officer.¹²⁷ From subsequent actions it appears that Charles II successfully forced the Bremen senate to decommission Waller in order not to jeopardise trade relations with the British Isles.¹²⁸ The city's magistrates were eager

escape once again to the continent. Melinda Zook, 'Robert Ferguson (d.1714)', *DNB* (online publication).

¹²³ *HMC, Seventh Report* (London, 1879), 386, Richard Bulstrode to Lord Preston, Brussels, 13 March 1684.

¹²⁴ *CSPD*, 1684, 327, Secretary Jenkins to the Earl of Yarmouth, Whitehall, 15 March 1684.

¹²⁵ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683–1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 489, 26 December 1683.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 517, 5 March 1684 and 488, 24 December 1683.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 507, 8 February 1684. The provenance of this man is unknown. It is likely that he was a descendant of the Forbes family who had proven to be Royalists in the decades prior to the Restoration and had established contact with the Elbe-Weser region during the 1650s.

¹²⁸ StAB, Wittheitsprotokolle 1683–1684, 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.14, 543–544, 2 and 7 May 1684; StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, 2-R.5.d.13.a.19, Charles II to Bremen Senate, Windsor, 7 April 1684; 2-R.5.d.13.a.19, Release of William Waller, 2 May 1684; 2-R.5.d.13.a.19, Bremen Senate to Charles II, Bremen, 2 May 1684.

to declare that only three Englishmen had arrived after December 1683 of whom two had married in the city and one had died, indicating that they had not welcomed a large group of dissenting individuals.¹²⁹ However, Skelton's accusations of Waller attracting suspected conspirators to Bremen were not unfounded. We know that George Melville and Adam Freer were present in the city along with Melville's son David (the Earl of Leven). Leven was certainly in Bremen in January 1684 from where he communicated with Russell under the pseudonym David Barclay.¹³⁰ Furthermore the Scot Major George Low, who was later to support the cause of the Duke of Orange, resided in the city until his death in 1699 where he commanded the local infantry thus working closely with Waller as commandant.¹³¹ He certainly accommodated the dissident Adam Freer in his house and it is likely that George Melville and his son also found shelter there. The latter was in communication with Low in 1689 and it is probable that both men had either established contact in Bremen or before their stay there.¹³² Furthermore, George Melville was financially supported by a 'friend' whom he expected to arrive in Holland soon in order to receive repayment for what he had spent on Melville. It is likely that this acquaintance was the merchant Gilbert Spence whose contact with Freer can be proven as he sent his regards to Andrew Russell in one of his letters. The merchant's contacts with and occasional business trips to the United Provinces make this connection all the more likely particularly given the known link with the Bremen exiles.¹³³ That we cannot identify Spence for sure is not surprising given that he would have wanted any assistance to the exiles be kept a secret due to his ongoing business links with the British Isles.¹³⁴ If Spence was the benefactor, he was only one of several sources of income for Melville. Russell himself took care of some of Melville's business transactions which also involved the second Scottish agent in Rotterdam, James Gordon and, after his

¹²⁹ StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, R.5.d.13.a.19, Bremen Senate to Charles II, Bremen, 18 January 1684.

¹³⁰ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/532/9, David Barclay alias Leven to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 26 January 1684; Margaret D. Sankey, 'David Melville, Third Earl of Leven and Second Earl of Melville (1660–1728)', *DNB* (online publication).

¹³¹ StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, R.5.d.13.a.12, Petition, Ilse Sprado to Bremen Senate, Bremen, without date. Ilse Sprado petitioned the Bremen senate to continue payment of her late husband's salary for another two or three months to cover his funeral costs. Low had died in April 1699.

¹³² NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689, George Low to Russell, Bremen, 3 August 1689.

¹³³ Murdoch, *Network North*, 152.

¹³⁴ See chapter 3.

death in early 1684, the latter's son.¹³⁵ Also, a Mr Dick frequently appears in Freer's and Leven's correspondence as being present in Bremen but it is highly likely that this name was used as a false identity for George Melville himself.¹³⁶ There is no further proof that Melville's fellow conspirators Thomas Armstrong and Robert Ferguson, or indeed the Duke of Monmouth, moved to Bremen during the months before Waller's eviction although Skelton seems emphatic they were there. In any case the presence of Waller and the Scottish exiles proves that a small but significant Anglo-Scottish network operated in the city and maintained important links to sympathisers in the United Provinces.

After Waller's dismissal from Bremen, the focus of his network changed leaving only the two Scots, Low and Spence, in the city. Nevertheless, the network continued to operate as it was not a location specific association. Low maintained his contact with George Melville via Andrew Russell to whom he directed letters which the factor was to pass on to Low's 'friend'—who was almost certainly Melville.¹³⁷ As previously stated Low also kept links to the Earl of Leven.¹³⁸ It was either him or Spence who assisted in the purchase of arms for the Earl of Argyll which were suspected to have been bought in Bremen, Hamburg and the United Provinces in 1684.¹³⁹ Thus Bremen remained important to some of the exiles in that it continued to accommodate at least two of their supporters. But the city was no longer the hub of the exile community in Northwest Germany.

In 1684 Waller was put in charge of the settlement of foreigners at the Lutheran town of Lüneburg where he acquired the position of governor with an annual salary of 1,500 Imperial dollars.¹⁴⁰ By then, the town was under the control of Duke Georg Wilhelm of Brunswick-Lüneburg. However, Waller did not take over the actual command of the militia

¹³⁵ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/532/8, Adam Freer to Russell, Bremen, 11/21 January 1684; Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 77.

¹³⁶ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/532/8, Adam Freer to Russell, Bremen, 11/21 January 1684. This is further confirmed by a letter from George Low who asked Russell in May 1685 about Mr Dick's well-being. As George Melville was likely to be in the Netherlands at this point it is probable that the name was continuously used as his pseudonym. NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/576/10, George Low to Russell, Bremen, 13 May 1685.

¹³⁷ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/637/5, Low to Russell, Bremen, 26 February 1687; RH15/106/637/6, George Low to Andrew Russell, Bremen, 13 August 1687.

¹³⁸ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/689, George Low to Russell, Bremen, 3 August 1689; Murdoch, *Network North*, 111.

¹³⁹ *RPCS, Third Series*, 1683–1684, 118.

¹⁴⁰ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Appointment, William Waller, Celle, 30 July 1684; Reinecke, *Geschichte der Stadt Lüneburg*, vol. 2, 345.

which was to remain under the control of the local commandant. Instead he was granted the same rights as if he was serving actively and was to receive employment as colonel in one of the duke's regiments as soon as a place became vacant. This offer was conditional and only made provided that Waller was successful in attracting profitable migrants to the duchy.¹⁴¹ Georg Wilhelm granted a privilege on 9 August 1684 to foreign families and individuals of reformed faith who were willing to settle in Lüneburg regardless of their nationality. By so doing he hoped to populate his territory and enhance his economy.¹⁴² In this edict the duke gave extensive rights to the foreigners in religious, economic and political terms. He permitted both public and private reformed worship promising the establishment of a church in the event that the reformed community was to increase in size.¹⁴³ The migrants were to be allowed to propose two ministers who were to be paid by the duke for the first two years and, additionally, a reformed school was to be established. The incomers were to receive citizen rights free of charge under the condition that they swore the usual oath of citizenship after which they would be allowed to trade, to open factories or to work as craftsmen without any hindrance from the local guilds. Additionally, if the foreigners wished they were to be received into the guilds for a small fee. Moreover, the new entrepreneurs were to be assisted in the establishment of factory houses. They were also allowed to employ poor children for the duration of seven years in return for the provision of clothes and victuals or other conditions which the entrepreneurs were to negotiate with the children's relatives. In order to promote the sales of products from the factories their goods were to be given preference within the duchy, especially at court and in supplying the militia. Furthermore, the foreigners were exempted from tolls on imported and exported goods transported by land or water to or from Lüneburg (with the exception of the Elbe tolls at Hitzacker and Schnackenburg) as well as from consumption taxes for the following twenty years. However, they were to pay excise as well as some other minor local taxes. As a further incentive, the foreigners were exempted from quarters and other citizen

¹⁴¹ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Appointment, William Waller, Celle, 30 July 1684.

¹⁴² StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Privileges Issued by Georg Wilhelm, Celle, 9 August 1684. Various copies of this document exist, including a French translation. The privilege has been printed in several secondary studies, for example in Thomas Klingebiel, *Die Hugenotten in den welfischen Landen. Eine Privilegiensammlung* (Bad Karlshafen, 1994), 47–52.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

duties as well as from direct taxes for twenty years. Nevertheless, in order to avoid complaints from the local citizens they were to pay a voluntary contribution in relation to their standing and income.¹⁴⁴ The similarity of this deal to the one previously negotiated at Bremen clearly has the hallmarks of William Waller all over it.

As previously noted, Georg Wilhelm and his Huguenot wife were sympathetic to French reformed exiles who gathered in a significant number at the court in Celle where they were allowed to attend private reformed services. A number of Huguenots were also enlisted into the duke's army. It is in this context that the ducal edict has previously been interpreted. Historians like Andreas Flick, Walter Mogk, Hartwig Notbohm or Arnulf Siebeneicker assumed that Georg Wilhelm aimed to establish a Huguenot colony in Lüneburg and that the freedoms granted on 9 August 1684 must thus be seen as privileges primarily or exclusively granted to French reformed exiles (*Hugenottenprivileg*).¹⁴⁵ These scholars conclude that Georg Wilhelm had been informed of the deteriorating situation for adherents of the reformed faith in France in the years prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). The orthodox argument states that the duke thus issued his privilege in order to attract rich and skilled Huguenots from France. This would enhance his economy thus pre-empting other German rulers like Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Prussia who published his famous Edict of Potsdam, in order to invite Huguenots into his territory, on 29 October 1685.¹⁴⁶

This position has been challenged by Thomas Klingebiel who has stated that the privilege did not primarily aim to attract French religious exiles but to draw reformed entrepreneurs regardless of their origin to the city, who could be found in the United Provinces, England, the Hanseatic cities and Altona.¹⁴⁷ Klingebiel argues that due to the suppression of members of the reformed religion in England (and given the duke's close connections to the United Provinces), Georg Wilhelm expected refugees primarily from these locations. He also points out that the general superintendent of Celle specifically protested against religious privileges for the foreigners from England. He thinks that it is possible that the French version

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Flick, 'Der Celler Hof', 95; Walter Mogk, 'Zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten', 382–384; Notbohm, *Geschichte der Französisch-reformierten Gemeinde*, 6–8; Arnulf Siebeneicker, 'Das Lüneburger Privileg', in Sabine Beneke and Hans Ottomeyer (eds.), *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland: Die Hugenotten* (Berlin, 2005), 252–253.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Klingebiel, *Die Hugenotten*, 11.

of the privilege was only written when the French reformed community was founded at Lüneburg in March 1685. Furthermore, the Lüneburg privilege did not play a role in discussions between the councillors of Celle and the former director of the Huguenot colony at Hameln relating to a privilege for the establishment of such a colony at Lüneburg in 1691.¹⁴⁸ Thus, Klingebiel concludes that the first Huguenot privilege within the Guelph territories was a document by Georg Wilhelm's brother Ernst August, Bishop of Osnabrück and Duke of Hanover—which dated from 21 November/1 December 1685, shortly after the release of the Edict of Potsdam.¹⁴⁹

Klingebiel's analysis has been critically analysed by Andreas Flick who doubts the later date of the French translation of Georg Wilhelm's privilege and initially stated that a larger group of exiles could only be expected to come from France but not from England. He concedes that the privilege was perhaps deliberately formulated without naming a particular nationality in order to allow reformed Scottish, English or Dutch individuals in addition to the French into the city.¹⁵⁰ However, after reflecting on the subject for a decade he later concluded that it was apparently 'Englishmen' and not Frenchmen who were primarily expected in Lüneburg.¹⁵¹ But in all of this analysis there is a serious omission; none of the above historians take Waller's previous negotiations with the senate of Bremen into account as they are narrowly focussed on activities in only one of several key political entities in the region (confirming the need for the larger overview detailed in chapter one). The timing of the issuing of the privilege a few months after his departure from the city and the similarity between the freedoms granted by Bremen and Georg Wilhelm leave no doubt that it was Waller who initiated the ducal edict. Furthermore, the freedoms granted on 9 August 1684 were frequently described by contemporaries as the 'English privileges' and the foreigners were at least in one case said to have been under the protection of the 'English nation'. This confirms (similarly to the terminology used in the minute book of Bremen's senate) that it was the Englishman Waller (variously mistaken as a Scot or as a French Huguenot by some historians) who had negotiated the deal

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 11–12.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Andreas Flick, 'Muß das "Lüneburger Hugenottenprivileg" neu bewertet werden?', *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, 59 (1995), 54–55.

¹⁵¹ Andreas Flick, 'Hugenotten in Norddeutschland', in Evangelisch-Reformierte Gemeinde Braunschweig (ed.), *Öffentlich und Ungehindert: 300 Jahre Ev.-reformierte Gemeinde Braunschweig* (Brunswick, 2004), 80.

with the duke.¹⁵² Thus the alleged 'French' privilege has to be interpreted in the context of Waller's intention of providing a safe environment for a group of British political dissidents. Waller—as in Bremen—intended to settle a larger group of confessional migrants in Lüneburg to meet the duke's expectations of economic advantages in order to protect the smaller group of political exiles. Notably, his own position in the duchy also depended on the successful settlement of profitable individuals. Thus we have to assume that he again welcomed the duke's decision not to exclude any nationalities from his privilege. William Waller was most likely informed of Georg Wilhelm's lenience towards adherents of the reformed faith and the Huguenot community at his court by Andrew Melville, who as previously noted, had acquired a respected position in its congregation. This is especially so as Melville was a kinsman of George Melville whose acquaintance he had made perhaps as early as 1651 when he received help from a relative of that name in London as a refugee after the battle of Worcester.¹⁵³ Andrew Melville and Leven were also almost certainly previously in contact with each other, possibly through George Melville as Leven assisted Andrew Melville in acquiring his Scottish birth brief in 1683.¹⁵⁴ The cooperation between George Melville and Waller in Bremen provided a link between the Englishmen and Andrew Melville who may have even initiated the talks between Waller and the duke. It has already been indicated that Georg Wilhelm himself primarily pursued economic interests with his edict in addition to secondary confessional ones. However these may have been complemented by political motivations. On 23 November 1684 it was reported that Georg Wilhelm was resolved to protect Waller and his adherents regardless of Skelton and any pressure he might attempt to bring to bear. The duke reported that, unlike Bremen's officials, he was not to be intimidated by English envoys.¹⁵⁵ This indicates that Georg Wilhelm was fully aware of the fact that he was welcoming individuals to his duchy who were seen as political dissidents in Britain. Georg Wilhelm's rhetoric against Skelton is easier to make sense of than the stance of the senate of Bremen. Direct trade connections with the British Isles were barely developed, and so English threats were of

¹⁵² Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 137; Mogk, 'Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten', 387.

¹⁵³ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 135; Murdoch, *Network North*, 25.

¹⁵⁴ *RPCS, Third Series*, 1683–84, 114–115, Supplication, Sir Andrew Melville, without date/place.

¹⁵⁵ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Journal Article, 'Nouvelles Choisis et Veritables', 23 November 1684.

limited importance. Commodities going to or from the British Isles from his duchy passed through the staples of Bremen and Hamburg, creating a suitable commercial buffer to impotent Stuart posturing.

Georg Wilhelm personally communicated with the city of Bremen to demand payment of Waller's outstanding salary providing both a sweetener to Waller and revealing the duke's esteem for the Englishman.¹⁵⁶ This was also reflected in the ducal council (the highest administrative institution in Brunswick-Lüneburg). As early as 25 July 1684 the ducal council informed the senate of Lüneburg that several foreign individuals, predominantly Englishmen persecuted at home, were willing to settle, trade and open factories in their city provided that they were given the previously mentioned freedoms.¹⁵⁷ The first of these Englishmen arrived before October 1684 when the ducal council reported their difficulties in receiving personal goods and merchandise from England due to the resistance of the Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg.¹⁵⁸ Although the Adventurers did not hold any authority over Brunswick-Lüneburg they could influence the Hamburg authorities and hinder the transport of goods through their city to and from the sea. In order to assist the English incomers the ducal councillors thus resolved to re-address their goods from England as though they belonged to a senator of Lüneburg called Johan von Cölln. They could then be shipped through Hamburg via a straw man there.¹⁵⁹ On the surface this seems to confirm Klingebiel's and (to a certain extent) Flick's hesitant statements that it was indeed mainly Englishmen who were expected in the city. Furthermore, contemporary reports mention an English assembly house in the market place and the presence of an English company in Lüneburg.¹⁶⁰ However, due to the lack of demographic registers such as the lists of new citizens—which are lost for the vital years between 1674 and 1700—it is unfortunately impossible to establish the number and nationality of foreigners

¹⁵⁶ StAB, Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs, R.5.d.13.a.19, Georg Wilhelm to Bremen Senate, Celle, 16 February 1685.

¹⁵⁷ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Ducal Councillors to Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 25 July 1684.

¹⁵⁸ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Ducal Councillors to Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 21 October 1684.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Heinrich Meyer to Lüneburg Senate, Harburg, 18 March 1685. Meyer, an inhabitant of Harburg, petitioned the Senate of Lüneburg to omit his son, who was to settle as a nail smith in their city, from citizen duties referring to the privileges Georg Wilhelm had granted to the 'English company'.

arriving at Lüneburg after 9 August 1684.¹⁶¹ The only English individual we can positively identify (apart from Waller) is the dyer Paul Hearne whose business in the duchy caused some complaints to be made to the local authorities.¹⁶² Yet while only these two Englishmen can be definitely identified, other foreigners were certainly attracted to the duchy. Among them were several enterprising Scots. For example, Joseph Moseson was reported as one of the first foreigners to arrive in Lüneburg after the edict. He opened a small business selling tobacco, pipes and 'distilled water' and was variously described as a Scot or as an English national. Notably he applied for citizen rights as an 'Englishman'.¹⁶³ This was probably due to the fact that he aimed to make full use of Waller's growing influence in the city, revealing that the familiar problem of Scots being erroneously labelled as English nationals may be especially true for Lüneburg.¹⁶⁴

Steve Murdoch anticipated that systematic research into previously unexplored areas of Europe would probably reveal the same sort of entrepreneurial activity he discovered Scots were undertaking in Scandinavia—and it appears he was right.¹⁶⁵ Another Scot drawn to the city by Waller was the entrepreneur Robert Hog who had left Scotland in the early 1660s with his father, the exiled minister John Hog who had become an incumbent of the Scots church in Rotterdam.¹⁶⁶ Waller and Hog established contact in Amsterdam where they were located before their move to Brunswick-Lüneburg. Both men visited the ducal council in Celle in September 1684 in order to negotiate the establishment of a cloth factory in Lüneburg with a plan to produce fine cloth worth 40,000 Imperial dollars annually.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ In addition a file of applications for citizen rights does not contain any entries for the years between 1683 and 1685. However a handful of applications for citizenship survive in the files relating to the settlement of foreigners in Lüneburg. StadtL., Acta von Bürgerschaften 1652–1699, B4 No. 71; Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Acta betr. die fremden Nationen.

¹⁶² StadtL., Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Report of Complaints, Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 28 July 1685.

¹⁶³ Ibid.; G3e No. 2, Confirmation of Privileges applying to Joseph Moseson, 24 October 1684; G3e No.2, Complaints, Lüneburg Senate to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 29 August 1685.

¹⁶⁴ However, there are also cases in which English were mistaken to have been Scots. For example, the Englishman and officer George Fleetwood was mistaken as a Scotsman by the Swedes as he commanded Scottish troops. For information on Fleetwood see Grosjean, 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War*, 146.

¹⁶⁵ Murdoch, *Network North*, 248.

¹⁶⁶ NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/492, (Robert) Hog to the Earl of Leven, Lüneburg, 20 January 1709; Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 31.

¹⁶⁷ StadtL., Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Minutes of the Ducal Chamberlain Albrecht Ramdohr's Proposition concerning Hog's Factory, Celle, 26 September 1684; Reinecke,

He was to be given a copy of the privileges the citizens of Lüneburg enjoyed on the southern arm of the Elbe so that he could make use of these as well.¹⁶⁸ Hog opened this business later the same year in cooperation with his Dutch business partner Anton de Pau. The enterprise was located in the so-called *Wandhaus* (cloth house) and included a mill as well as a place where finished cloth could be dyed. Soon after their arrival Hog and Pau sought to expand into other buildings and the senate discussed offering them the *Marstall* (city stables) or the House of a Mr Elwer situated in *Große Bäckerstraße* for their enterprise.¹⁶⁹ In addition to this, both entrepreneurs successfully urged the senate to provide a hall for the sale of cloth and to employ a number of trustworthy citizens to monitor the quantity and quality of cloth brought into this building in accordance with rules established by the Dutch town of Leiden.¹⁷⁰ The production depended largely on the use of child labour and the senate had obliged itself to find at least 150 young male and female workers aged between 12 and 14 who were to stay in the factory for seven years to be replaced thereafter.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, Hog and Pau also employed a number of skilled adult workers from the Netherlands. For example at least four Dutchmen were working as chief servants (*Meisterknechte*) in the factory, their tasks lying mainly with the supervision of the work of the children.¹⁷² Furthermore, the entrepreneurs drew at least seven cloth processors (*Tuchbereiter*) to the city who were to receive their own guild roll in 1686 and who in turn employed a number of apprentices from the United Provinces, Lübeck, Bremen and other neighbouring places.¹⁷³ Another person in a trusted position was Paul Berenberg who was to administer the business and to act as master of the sales hall from October 1685 but it is unclear where

Lüneburg, 346–347. Reinecke erroneously states that Hog gave up his Lüneburg factory in 1687.

¹⁶⁸ StadtL, Protocoll Curiae 1684–85, P7 No. 17, 160, 26 March 1685.

¹⁶⁹ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Memorial, Hog/(Anton) Pau to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 12 June 1685; G3e No. 22, Hog and Pau to Lüneburg Senate, 7 September 1685.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Minutes of Ducal Chamberlain Albrecht Ramdohr's Proposition concerning Hog's Factory, Celle, 26 September 1684; G3e No. 2, Lüneburg Senate to Georg Wilhelm, Lüneburg, 29 September 1684; G3e No. 22, Record of the Ducal Council Concerning Robert Hog, Celle, 10 October 1684; G3e No. 22, Memorial, Hog and Pau to Ducal Council, Celle, 12 June 1685.

¹⁷² StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 36, *Meisterknechte* to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 27 March 1686.

¹⁷³ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 36, Lübeck Senat to Lüneburg Senate, Lübeck, 20 January 1686; G3e No. 36, List of Cloth Processors, without place/date.

he originated from.¹⁷⁴ The establishment of Hog's and Pau's enterprise at Lüneburg clearly exhibits parallels with the manufacture and cloth trade of the Stockholm-based Scottish merchant, Daniel Young (Leijonancker), whose business contributed significantly to the city's economy in the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁵ However, compared to Young's successful complex which included a textile mill, a glove factory and two dye-colouring works as well as a considerable workforce of around 1,200, Hog's and Pau's factory was of a smaller (but not inconsiderable) scale. Like Hog and Pau, Leijonancker employed specialised foreign workers including technical supervisors from the United Provinces and weavers from Hamburg thus encouraging migration to Sweden.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, Young's workforce consisted partially of children. They were provided by Stockholm's orphanages and it was a fellow-Scot and fellow-councillor (*Rådsman*) Jacob Clerck who was in charge of these institutions as well as of the prisons from where additional workers were recruited. As Murdoch points out, it is probable that both men furthered each others' interests based on their common Scottish ethnicity.¹⁷⁷ Contrary to these favourable conditions the provision and maintenance of children as employees in Lüneburg evolved into a continuous problem for Hog and Pau. The low number of available workers and the disappearance of trained children from work (whose parents supported their absence) became a recurring theme in the correspondence between the entrepreneurs and the senate.¹⁷⁸

Hog certainly planned to establish his business permanently in Lüneburg as he agreed with the senate that with the expiry of the privilege after 20 years the *Wandhaus* was either to be sold to him cheaply or rented out for free for several additional years.¹⁷⁹ In November 1684 Hog's sister arrived in Lüneburg and was supposed to run the business side of the factory. Her brother planned to direct his business from Amsterdam

¹⁷⁴ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Hog to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 7 October 1685.

¹⁷⁵ Murdoch, *Network North*, 176–177; Steve Murdoch, 'Community and Commerce: The Stockholm-Scots in the Seventeenth Century', in D. Worthington (ed.), *Emigrants and Exiles from the Three Kingdoms in Europe, 1603–1688* (Leiden, 2009), 42–44.

¹⁷⁶ Murdoch, *Network North*, 176–177.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ See for example StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Robert Hog to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 30 May 1685; G3e No. 22, Memorial, Hog and Pau to Lüneburg Senate, 12 June 1685; G3e No. 22, A Pau to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 19 April 1687; G3e No. 22, Pau to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 24 July 1687.

¹⁷⁹ StadtL, Protocoll Curiae 1684–1685, P7 No. 17, 68, 2 December 1684.

and to base himself there in the long term.¹⁸⁰ The latter confirms that Hog was in no immediate danger in the Netherlands and that his move to Lüneburg was due to the economic opportunities offered by Waller and Georg Wilhelm's edict. Nevertheless, his exile background made Hog sympathetic to the Scottish religious exiles' cause and he became involved in one of their financial networks on at least one occasion. On 2 November 1685 the Scottish exiled minister James Brown—who had almost certainly established contact with Hog through his father in the Netherlands—asked Andrew Russell to remit money via Robert Hog to the Scottish merchant in Königsberg, Mr Andrew Marshall, showing his trust in the entrepreneur.¹⁸¹

Hog and Pau separated as business partners in early 1686 but both entrepreneurs continued their cloth production in Lüneburg.¹⁸² Whereas the Scot's business was to remain in the *Wandhaus*, Pau was given *Elwer's* House as well as the adjacent buildings, with the original tools and child labourers being divided between these locations. The mill as well as the tools belonging to the dye-works were to be used interchangeably by both ex-partners. Besides this unusually helpful arrangement, some of Hog's capital was to remain in Pau's factory for which the latter was to pay him 12 per cent of his annual financial gain until the expiry of Georg Wilhelm's privileges.¹⁸³ By April the same year Hog had left for the United Provinces leaving Paul Berenberg as his representative to resolve conflicts with Pau, though it is not certain whether Hog's sister remained in charge of the business.¹⁸⁴

Pau had taken the Hanoverian Jew Isaac Ahrens as a new business partner and had been granted a concession to trade with English and other

¹⁸⁰ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Ducal Council to Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 24 November 1684.

¹⁸¹ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/576, James Brown to Russell, Danzig, 2 November 1685; Murdoch, *Network North*, 113.

¹⁸² StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 23, Acta betr. Robert Hog and Anton Pau dissolvirter Societat 1686–1688; The reason for the separation is unclear although Pau later accused Hog of deceit on several occasions claiming that Hog had persuaded him shortly before their departure from Amsterdam to sign a bill of exchange to be remitted by his mother for their factory. The Scottish entrepreneur had apparently passed on this bill to one of his personal creditors causing financial loss to Pau's relative. Hog on the other hand stated that Pau had invested a smaller sum than he had promised into their factory. StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 20, Hog to Georg Wilhelm, Gornieden, 6 April 1688; G3e No. 22, Pau to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 6 May 1689.

¹⁸³ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, Hogs und Paus Separatio Societas bei der hiesigen Lakenmanufaktur betreffend 1686–1687, G3e No. 23.

¹⁸⁴ It is unclear if Hog's sister was in Lüneburg at this time.

foreign cloth in bulk in addition to producing his own cloth. According to Berenberg the dying and sale of this English, Dutch and Silesia cloth damaged Hog's factory considerably.¹⁸⁵ In addition, Pau's workers had apparently occupied the upper parts of the *Wandhaus* contrary to the agreed conditions and the repayment of creditors caused severe problems for both Pau and Hog.¹⁸⁶ The Hog-Pau split created the need to replace some of the skilled workers who had been previously working for Hog. The French entrepreneur Vincent du Bois reported in April 1686 that the Scot was travelling from Amsterdam to Frisia in order to hasten the voyage of several English workers to Celle to work in his factory.¹⁸⁷ Further difficulties were also created by the Merchant Adventurers who threatened to ruin both Hog's and Pau's cloth enterprise warning that they would sell their own products at rock-bottom prices to do so.¹⁸⁸ Despite such threats, Hog's Lüneburg factory was able to successfully continue its production for many years. Others were not so lucky and the resistance of the English company may partially explain why all other factories which were aimed to be established in the city ultimately failed. More importantly, however, Hog and Pau appear to have been the only entrepreneurs to have secured external investment.¹⁸⁹ Their main creditor was Colonel Thomas Erskine who then resided in Lüneburg and lent the company a considerable sum of 4,000 Imperial dollars.¹⁹⁰ Erskine's investment is certainly another significant example of the importance of kith and kin connections demonstrated elsewhere and played a decisive role in Hog and Pau's economic success.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 23, Paul Berenberg to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 26 January 1687.

¹⁸⁶ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 20, Hog to Thomas Erskine, Amsterdam, 7 June 1687; G3e No. 20; Pau to Hog, Lüneburg, 5/15 June 1687; G3e No. 20, Paul Berenberg to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 2 November 1687.

¹⁸⁷ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Ducal Council to Johann Reinbeck (Provost of Lüneburg), Celle, 23 April 1686.

¹⁸⁸ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 22, Lüneburg Senate to Ducal Councillors, Lüneburg, 2 July 1685.

¹⁸⁹ The Frenchman Jean de Rosiere for example had initially promised to open a lace factory but started instead to trade with French wine on a small scale signifying that he lacked the capital to open a more complex business. StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 8, Acta betr. Jean de Rossier Sorans Spitzen—Manufaktur und Weinschank, 1685.

¹⁹⁰ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 19, Thomas Erskine to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 19 July 1686; G3e No. 19, Thomas Erskine to Lüneburg Senate, Lüneburg, 3 May 1687. The credit was given in either 1684 or early 1685. Its repayment caused considerable problems in 1686/1687.

¹⁹¹ Murdoch, *Network North*, chapters 3–6.

From the above it becomes clear that a number of foreigners of different nationalities were either directly or indirectly attracted to Lüneburg. Although they all adhered to the reformed faith, differences existed in their confessions and it is thus not clear if they worshipped together or if several separate private churches were established. Fortunately there is clear evidence that Waller aimed to set up a private church in his own house.¹⁹² An estimate of the costs of church furniture by a local craftsman allows for some conclusions to be drawn on the size and social structure of the reformed congregation he envisaged for Lüneburg. The church furniture was to include a special seat for Waller himself with a baldachin (*Himmel*) as well as benches which could seat 55 members of the gentry and nobility as well as 21 additional ordinary benches reserved for common people.¹⁹³ This suggests that the congregation was to accommodate well over 100 individuals with Waller himself taking a prominent position within it. Nevertheless, we do not know who exactly was to worship within this church nor does the cost estimate prove that the church ever materialised in this form. However, in 1686 Waller requested half of the salary offered by the duke for the two reformed ministers to be paid to a Scot, William Douglas, indicating the presence of a British congregation similar to the ones which can be found in other places like Elbing.¹⁹⁴ In another Anglo-Scottish twist, Hog expressed the thankfulness of his 'countrymen' to the duke in April 1688 stating that he had heard his 'good friends' in the English parliament say that they would assist the duke's causes and that they would be pleased to hear if the duke encouraged Hog's business as he was their 'countryman'.¹⁹⁵ Thus Hog opportunistically identified himself as an Englishman or at least exploited his Britishness in this particular situation to make full use of his influential English contacts. This clearly

¹⁹² StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Bill Relating to Church Pews, Lüneburg, 4 November 1684; Protocoll Curiae 1684–85, P7 No. 17, 65, 18 November 1684.

¹⁹³ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Bill relating to Church Pews, Lüneburg 4 November 1684. The German text does not differentiate between gentry and nobility but uses the term *Adlige*. However, it has to be assumed that Waller anticipated attracting members of the gentry primarily. The senate was prepared to give Waller some chairs for the nobles/members of the gentry. StadtL, Protocoll Curiae 1684–85, P7 No. 17, 65, 18 November 1684.

¹⁹⁴ Tollin, 'Geschichte der hugenottischen Gemeinde in Celle', 6. Tollin got this information from a document in the state archives in Hanover which could so far not be localised. (The old reference states Staatsarchiv Hanover, Celle Br. Arch. Des. 55, Lüneburg No. 682.)

¹⁹⁵ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 20, Hog to Georg Wilhelm, Gornieden, 6 April 1688.

shows parallels to Joseph Averie's use of similar terminology in previous decades.¹⁹⁶

By a process of elimination we can demonstrate that these Britons worshiped almost exclusively in their own church rather than with the other foreigners. On 16 March 1685 a French reformed church was established under the guidance of the French minister Joseph de Casaucau who arrived from Copenhagen.¹⁹⁷ It was almost certainly he who was to receive the other half of the minister's salary provided by the duke. The church book of the French congregation partially survives and has been analysed by Beuleke who—in correlation with other documents—identified 33 men and 30 women as belonging to the French Huguenot community between 1685 and the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁹⁸ There is proof for some interaction between the French and other foreigners. For example Waller's daughter Catherine married the Frenchman Richard de Courtenay on 19 November 1685. Furthermore Mary Taylor from London married Jean le Hay from Calais on 15 August 1685. However, apart from seven other women who originated from Lüneburg, Celle, Lübeck, Altona or Gent all other members listed by Beuleke were positively French.¹⁹⁹ As we do not find any other English, Scottish or Dutch names in the church book we can conclude that they continued to worship in their own private church giving credit to the notion that Waller's was built.

It is not clear who the 55 members of the nobility and gentry were whom Waller hoped to draw to Lüneburg. It is possible that they included the entrepreneurs who all carried the prefix 'de' in their name indicating their high ranking status.²⁰⁰ However, as argued previously, Waller's main target lay less in the establishment of a reformed exile community but rather in the creation of a safe haven for political dissidents who were in immediate danger in the Netherlands. These were mainly members of the nobility and gentry and they were probably meant to form the majority in the group of high ranking individuals in Waller's church. One of these exiles, the Scot Sir John Cochrane (not the same one previously mentioned), arrived in Lüneburg in October 1684 together with his

¹⁹⁶ See chapter 3.

¹⁹⁷ Flick, 'Hugenotten in Norddeutschland', 80; Mogk, 'Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten', 389.

¹⁹⁸ Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 134–137.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.; Notbohm, *Geschichte der Französisch-reformierten Gemeinde*, 21–37.

²⁰⁰ For evidence that Scots used this device to highlight their status abroad see Steve Murdoch, 'The Pearl Fisher Robert Buchan "de Portlethin" in Sweden', *Northern Studies* (2007), 51–70.

son as well as several other unnamed adherents.²⁰¹ After having established links with the Earl of Argyll and the inner circle of the Duke of Monmouth in early 1683, Cochrane had become suspected of involvement in the conspiracy to overthrow Charles II—an accusation of which he was found guilty in May 1685 with the result that his estates were forfeited. In addition, the Scottish Privy Council had directed the king's advocate on 16 August 1683 to charge Cochrane with treason for his involvement in the Bothwell Bridge rising. Thus Cochrane had been forced to escape to the United Provinces from where he moved on to the duchy of Cleves and then on to Lüneburg via Hanover. However, his stay was only short as he played an active part in the Argyll Rebellion in 1685 and it is likely that the individuals he had brought to Lüneburg followed him to the British Isles.²⁰² Whether any of them escaped from the ill-fated incident remains unclear.

Apart from Cochrane (and Waller) it is not possible to identify other exiles or suspected anti-Stuart conspirators in the city. The reason for the absence of a large group of political dissidents could be rooted in the imminent insurrections in 1685, preparations for which were made in the Netherlands where a group of dissidents (including Monmouth) gathered despite the apparent risk of arrest.²⁰³ The proposed small scale invasions and hoped for spontaneous insurrections led to an overtly optimistic presumption of political and religious change in the British Isles. However, the Argyll/Monmouth attempts were viewed with suspicion by many of the exiles in Europe leading only the foolhardy and clients of the two nobles to participate. It is possible that a number of political suspects such as the Melvilles were present in Lüneburg without appearing in the surviving records. However, compared to Bremen there was less of a need to conceal their identities. As stated previously Georg Wilhelm had promised to safeguard Waller and his associates against arrest and Cochrane openly applied for permission to settle in Lüneburg. Furthermore, in a letter written on 23 April 1685 he put his 'humble service' to Georg Wilhelm, stating his thankfulness to the duke and adding that he was willing to create amicable relations between Great Britain and the duke after the

²⁰¹ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 2, Johan Halfe to Lüneburg Senate, Celle, 11 October 1684.

²⁰² Richard L. Greaves, 'Sir John Cochrane (1662–1695)', *DNB* (online publication). Not identical but possibly related to James King's acquaintance.

²⁰³ Tim Harris, 'James Scott (Crofts), Duke of Monmouth and First Duke of Buccleugh (1649–1685)', *DNB* (online publication).

Argyll expedition, confirming the duke's political interests in the exiles as well as the fact that he knew exactly whom he accommodated.²⁰⁴

We know for sure that Andrew Melville remained in contact with some of the political exiles on the continent throughout this period. By way of example, John Cochrane informed Melville from Amsterdam on 23 April 1685 about the preparations for the planned insurrections inviting him to 'acquaint all our countrie men, who are in ani foraigne service to cume and take imployment in their own countrie'.²⁰⁵ This reveals that Cochrane knew of Melville's links to fellow Scottish officers in foreign service, which he hoped to exploit. The same letter reveals that Cochrane had also been in touch with the Huguenot officers in Georg Wilhelm's service, such as General Shavott or Colonel Lamott and his family who were in turn related to Melville through the latter's wife.²⁰⁶ Melville himself refused Cochrane's invitation to join the expeditions due to his advanced age. Neither George Melville nor his son took part in the invasions. At the time the former can be traced residing in the United Provinces and transiting various German localities as an itinerant exile. For his part the Earl of Leven started to travel the northern parts of the Holy Roman Empire before eventually joining the service of the Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia through the patronage of Sophia, Electress of Hanover—herself half Scottish by parentage.²⁰⁷ She was the daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, Georg Wilhelm's sister-in-law, and in contact with Andrew Melville.²⁰⁸ It is thus likely that it was she who had recommended David Melville to Sophia in order to assist him in finding a permanent refuge. In February 1686 Leven was certainly in Celle where his kinsman resided and where he made contact with other Scots.²⁰⁹

During his stay in Celle Leven stayed with a Mr Chartres (probably the Scottish merchant John Chartres) who widely travelled in the North Sea and Baltic countries and was in contact with Leven in September/October the same year as well as with Andrew Russell.²¹⁰ Leven was also

²⁰⁴ Fraser, *The Melvilles*, vol. 2, 101, John Cochrane to Andrew Melville, Amsterdam, 23 April 1685.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Sankey, 'David Melville', *DNB* (online publication).

²⁰⁸ Ameer-Ali (ed.), *Memoirs*, 6–7. The current location of the original letter could not be traced. (The reference in Ali-Ameer reads 'Briefwechsel der Herzogin von Sophie von Hannover mit ihrem Bruder', Preuss. Staatsarchiv, vol. 26.)

²⁰⁹ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/11, David Melville to Russell, Celle, 9 February 1686.

²¹⁰ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/8, John Chartres to Russel, Wesel, 28 September/8 October 1686.

connected to Andrew Melville when the commandant assisted him in one of his financial transactions.²¹¹ David Melville also became involved with a merchant in Celle called Mr Drossard Stikenelle who received money on his behalf after it had been remitted by one of Andrew Russell's factors in Amsterdam following a request from George Melville. This sum was then to be paid to a Mr Chartres at Andrew Melville's house in Gifhorn.²¹² This help was reciprocated when David Melville met Andrew Melville's son George Ernest in either Cleve or The Hague where the latter visited the local academy. The Earl of Leven recommended him to Andrew Russell and asked the factor to give Melville two hundred dollars drawn from his account. He also showed some concern for him by asking Russell to look out for his interests in case he was not to collect the money personally 'for yow know young folk knowes not the ways of drawing of money.'²¹³ The contact between George and Andrew Melville continued when the former had returned to Scotland in the wake of the Williamite Revolution. In 1698 Andrew Melville reported from Celle that a gentleman called Seton had arrived in town whom he hoped he could assist in entering Georg Wilhelm's service. Furthermore he stated that his son planned to visit his father's 'native contry and relationes' including George Melville whom he hoped would assist him.²¹⁴ The Melville network included contacts in Hamburg where David Melville found shelter in the house of the Merchant Adventurer Mr Borick Taylor during his travels in 1686.²¹⁵ In addition Melville required Andrew Russell to find a friend in the city who would vouch for him and so enable him to borrow 100 Imperial dollars.²¹⁶ It is probable that David Melville had already been present in Hamburg 1685 communicating under his usual pseudonym which was in fact his servant's name of John Edward.²¹⁷ The city certainly offered shelter to the

²¹¹ Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 80.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 80–81.

²¹³ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/12, David Melville to Russell, Cleve, 7 August 1686.

²¹⁴ NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/450, Andrew Melville to George Melville, Celle, February 1698.

²¹⁵ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/16, David Melville to Russell, Helmstadt, 30 August 1686; RH15/106/609/22, David Melville to Russell, Hamburg, 24 September 1686; Murdoch, *Network North*, 112. It is possible that Borick Taylor was a relative of Mary Taylor who married in the French reformed church in Lüneburg the previous year. Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 135.

²¹⁶ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/609/16, David Melville to Russell, Helmstadt, 30 August 1686; RH15/106/609/22, David Melville to Russell, Hamburg, 24 September 1686.

²¹⁷ NAS, Russell Papers, RH15/106/576/4, John Edward to Russell, Hamburg 10 November 1685.

Scottish exile George Baillie of Jerwiswood in 1683 who sent a letter from Hamburg to his relative James Baillie in Edinburgh, promising to mind the recipient's business in the city.²¹⁸ Thus we can conclude that a Scottish exile kith and kin network operated partially in Brunswick-Lüneburg, across the wider Elbe-Weser region and even beyond Germany to include the United Provinces and Scotland.

For the reasons discussed above, neither Hog nor Waller took part in the failed expeditions of Argyll and Monmouth but remained in Lüneburg.²¹⁹ It was at the end of 1685 and the beginning of 1686 that the latter attempted to establish a second factory of serge in the city. To this end he as well as an (unnamed) Englishman—who was to be the 'most noble *ouvrier*' of the enterprise—inspected possible locations in the city. Apart from 500 local children, a considerable number of 100 to 200 skilled workers from England and other places were to be employed in this factory.²²⁰ However, negotiations with the senate proved difficult and Waller threatened that the entrepreneurs had already received a better offer in East Frisia.²²¹ The ducal council eventually granted extensive privileges for the set-up of the factory including the use of *Scharnbeck's* house.²²² However, as there are no further records on the enterprise in the Lüneburg archives it is doubtful if it was ever established. Furthermore, Waller took his leave from Lüneburg on 15 June 1686 apparently to return to Bremen where he was to receive another military command and it is highly unlikely that the English factory ever materialised, though Robert Hog's remained in production into the eighteenth century.²²³

Hog remained on the continent after the Williamite Revolution despite his 'exile' background. Political change within the British Isles had seen

²¹⁸ NAS, James Baillie Papers, RH15/49/7, George Baillie to James Baillie, Hamburg, 31 May 1683. It was probably this man who sent another letter to the same noting that only small quantities of herring were to be sold in Hamburg, but that apart from that, only fine stockings were in demand. NAS, RH15/49/7, (George Baillie?) to James Baillie, Hamburg, 31 May 1683. Unfortunately the signature beneath the letter is destroyed and therefore we do not know the identity of the sender.

²¹⁹ NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/492, Hog to the Earl of Leven, Lüneburg, 20 January 1709.

²²⁰ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 7, Privileges Demanded by the Manufacturers, 11 December 1685; G3e No. 7, Lüneburg Senate to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 26 January 1686.

²²¹ StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 7, Waller to Georg Wilhelm, Celle, 3 February 1686.

²²² StadtL, Gewerbesachen, G3e No. 7, Lüneburg Senate to Ducal Council, Lüneburg, 26 January 1686.

²²³ Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 137.

the majority of Protestant exiles return to their own or their parents' homeland.²²⁴ The fact that he decided to stay in Lüneburg perhaps confirms that Hog was primarily concerned with economic matters and not overtly emotionally attached to the exiles' cause. Alternatively, he may have simply found the financial gains of his enterprises abroad too rewarding to give up at that juncture. Furthermore, he may have integrated into Lüneburg's society through marriage or other links which he was perhaps not prepared to surrender. Nevertheless, Hog—like Patrick More in Buxtehude—maintained an interest in his home country despite his long-term absence. This was expressed in 1709 when Hog recommended his son John to the Earl of Leven stating that he had sent him to his native country to learn the language.²²⁵ Furthermore, Hog—as a 'true Scot'—praised the effects which the Union could potentially have on Scotland if people knew how to make use of the liberty of freely using Irish and English wool. He described his comfortable life in Lüneburg but stated that he was willing to return to Scotland after his 46 years abroad provided that the monarch could allow him a small pension. He further implied that he would then use his expertise to the benefit of the country's economy stating that he 'brogt the Lunenburg manufactory to perfection' and that 'al my countrymen in Scotland know there could be no better man to give directions that way then I am'.²²⁶ It is not clear why Hog waited for almost two years after the Union in sending this letter. It is possible that he wanted to confirm that the Union was secure as evidenced by the failure of the 1708 Jacobite uprising.²²⁷ His revived interest in Scotland may have partially been financially motivated. However, his position in Lüneburg (unless exaggerated in his letter) suggests that Hog felt genuinely attached to Scotland, perhaps simply wishing to retire there.

The success of the Calvinist-dominated British network in Northwest Germany as evidenced in the preceding section is apparent. The benefits derived from compatible confessions of faith allowed for exiles to integrate in several locations at various times. Without the Williamite Revolution which removed the need for such an exile community it may have flourished and formed another Kedainiai style Calvinist community

²²⁴ Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community*, 201–206.

²²⁵ NAS, Leven and Melville Papers, GD26/13/492, Hog to the Earl of Leven, Lüneburg, 20 January 1709.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688–1788* (Manchester, 1994), 56–57.

in Europe. But the opportunity to return to Britain after 1688 was compelling for most and in turn resulted in an exile of their political opponents on an even larger scale from the British Isles. These were the Jacobites.

The Jacobite Presence

What scrutiny of the Calvinist exile network reveals to us is the importance of an empathetic government or suitably sympathetic friends for exiles looking for refuge. For the Presbyterians they had both already in the Elbe-Weser region. Supporters of the Jacobite cause on the other hand seem to have been less fortunate. The wider Elbe-Weser region was not to entertain a large Jacobite presence especially when compared to other countries such as Sweden, France, Italy or Russia.²²⁸ The absence of a sizeable Scottish and/or English expatriate community (apart from the Merchant Adventurers) mitigated against a large Jacobite gathering and was not helped by the proximity of Hanover.²²⁹ However, the political developments within the region during the events of the Great Northern War were of some concern to the Jacobite cause. They observed and commented on the loss of Swedish control over Bremen-Verden in favour of Denmark and Hanover from 1712.²³⁰ The exiled Stuart monarch himself condemned the taking of the territories by Hanover and offered assistance in their retrieval in order to win support of Sweden for his own cause.²³¹ This was in no small part due to the fact that Queen Anne's named successor, George, was the Elector of Hanover thus making it obvious that he and his followers would be belligerently anti-Jacobite. In addition to these political concerns, the region was also of some significance to the Jacobites from a geographical point of view. The territories along the Elbe

²²⁸ Edward Corp et al. (eds.), *A Court in Exile; The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge, 2004); E.H. Tayler (ed.), *The Jacobite Court At Rome in 1719. From the original documents at Fettercairn House and at Windsor Castle* (Edinburgh, 1938); Rebecca Wills, *The Jacobites and Russia 1715–1750* (East Linton, 2002). See also Christoph von Ehrenstein, 'Jakobiten in Europa 1688–1788', in Klaus J. Bade et al. (eds.), *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa: Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (München, 2007), 707–710.

²²⁹ The support of a Jacobite community was difficult even in places which featured a comparatively large Scottish mercantile and pro-Jacobite presence. Steve Murdoch, 'The French Connection: Bordeaux's "Scottish" Networks in Context, c. 1670–1720', in Gilles Leydier, *Scotland and Europe, Scotland in Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), 39–41.

²³⁰ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, V, 532, Memoir, 26 January 1717; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, VI, pp. 152–158, M. Stiernhock to Duke of Mar, 16 March 1718; Loker et al., 'Das Elbe-Weser Dreieck', 293–298.

²³¹ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 288, James III to John Erskine, Avignon, 17 July 1716.

and Weser (apart from those belonging to Hanover) functioned as transit places between the Jacobite communities elsewhere in Europe. Although information on Jacobite travellers (who for obvious reasons tried to hide their movements) is limited, we can gauge the presence of sojourning individuals, who must have received at least some limited support from the local population and/or fellow countrymen.

One of the tasks of the Williamite resident at Hamburg, Paul Rycaut (who arrived in August 1689) was to expose and observe potential enemies of the Williamite government. His activity initially led to some paranoid conclusions. For example, in June 1690 Rycaut reported that the younger brother of the Marquis d'Albeville (James VII/II's envoy to the United Provinces) had the temerity of taking up residence in close proximity to his own house, receiving two or three Englishmen who kept 'themselves very private and obscure'.²³² This information however proved to be false as the individual in question turned out to be the son of a German minister.²³³ Nevertheless, there were others who supported or at least sympathised with the side of the exiled Stuart king, some of whom were made known to Rycaut. For example, a Mr Stibben (the clerk of a Mr King, a possible Scot) defended James VII/II legitimacy against a Colonel Scott who had celebrated William's victory at the Boyne with fireworks at Altona.²³⁴ Furthermore, Rycaut reported that a number of people had allegedly expressed their dissatisfaction with the Williamite government. However, he was unable to identify them, as he could not find a reliable informer.²³⁵

Despite Rycaut's presence, a few Scottish Jacobites openly lived within the city. One of these was John Paterson, the former archbishop of Glasgow, who took up residence in Hamburg in August 1694.²³⁶ He had accepted voluntary banishment to the continent after a short imprisonment at Edinburgh Castle (a consequence of his signing of the bishops' declaration of loyalty) and had initially found shelter at Leiden.²³⁷ George Seton, the fourth Earl of Winton, a known supporter of James VII/II, was also expected to set up residence within the city.²³⁸ It remains unclear if these

²³² TNA, SP82/18 fol. 198–199, Rycaut to Nottingham, Hamburg, 7 June 1690.

²³³ TNA, SP82/18 fol. 208–209, Rycaut to Nottingham, Hamburg, 1 July 1690.

²³⁴ TNA, SP82/17 fol. 242–243, Rycaut to Richard Warre, Hamburg, 26 August 1690.

²³⁵ TNA, SP82/18 fol. 39, Rycaut to ?, Hamburg, 12 July 1692.

²³⁶ TNA, SP82/18 fol. 192–193, Rycaut to Vernon, Hamburg, 14 August 1694.

²³⁷ Tristram Clarke, 'John Paterson (1632–1708)', *DNB* (online publication).

²³⁸ TNA, SP82/18 fol. 192–193, Rycaut to Vernon, Hamburg, 14 August 1694; Roger Turner, 'Seton, George (c.1679–1749)', *DNB* (online publication).

individuals actively supported the Jacobite cause and other Jacobite exiles whilst at Hamburg, although it is likely that this was the case. Paterson justified his move from Leiden to the region by stating that the climate at Hamburg was better than in the United Provinces. This seems to have been quite a feeble excuse and it is more probable that he felt that he would be of more use at the important transit centre of Hamburg than in a Dutch city. Indeed, a number of Jacobite travellers were attracted to the hub at the Elbe after Paterson's and Winton's arrival. For example in November 1694 a 'Scotch gentleman' (who had been abroad for four years) arrived from Italy with the intention of spending the winter in the city.²³⁹ Donough Maccarthy, the fourth Earl of Clancarty and former Jacobite army officer, and his wife who took up residence on an island in the river Elbe, near Altona (possibly the *Krautsand*) after 1697.²⁴⁰ From there they moved on to Lübeck in order to find a more comfortable residence. Again, their contact to other Jacobites cannot be proven, but we can assume that they provided at least some assistance to fellow believers.

Apart from these individuals, a number of disbanded Jacobite soldiers and officers frequented the region. For example, in April 1689 Jacobite troops under the command of Lord Macillicuddy had received permission to embark from the Isle of Wight to Hamburg.²⁴¹ They were considered to pose a potential threat to the Williamite government if they were to stay within in the British Isles and were thus dispatched to the continent to serve the Emperor (William's ally) against France. It is likely that some of these troops did not join the Imperial army upon their arrival at Hamburg. In September 1689 Rycout received advice that 800 'Irish deserters' were among those Danish troops which had been granted to serve William of Orange in Scotland.²⁴² Their departure had to be stopped for obvious reasons. Given the proximity between Hamburg and the Danish garrison at Glückstadt, we can assume that it were some of Macillicuddy's troops who had found their way into the Danish army. The same is probably true for a second wave of soldiers who arrived from Kinsale after the signing of the Treaty of Limerick (3 October 1691). The latter agreement offered Jacobite troops to join William's army and those who decided to do so

²³⁹ TNA, SP82/18 fol. 214–215, Rycout to Vernon, Hamburg, 2 November 1694.

²⁴⁰ TNA, SP82/18 fol. 212, Rycout to Williamson, Hamburg, 14 June 1698; James Jay Carafano, 'Donough Maccarthy (1668–1734)', *DNB* (online publication).

²⁴¹ *CSPD*, 1689, 10 April 1689.

²⁴² TNA, SP82/18 fol. 11–12, Rycout to Warre, Hamburg, 13 September 1689.

where sent to fight within the Imperial army.²⁴³ According to Rycaut no less than 2,000 Irish troops under the command of Lord Iveagh disembarked at Hamburg.²⁴⁴ Their coming had not been anticipated by the local Imperial representative Baron von Goeden who struggled to find adequate supplies and was at a loss as to where to send the soldiers.²⁴⁵ Eventually, he decided to dispatch the regiments to Silesia from where they were to march to Hungary.²⁴⁶ Despite Rycaut's assurances that all troops (apart from Iveagh and three or four officers who were to follow shortly) had left the region by the end of June 1692, there is proof that not all soldiers had decided to follow Goeden's orders deserting the Imperial army.²⁴⁷ As Macillicuddy's troops they may have joined Danish service at Glückstadt, possibly helped by the presence of a number of Scottish and English soldiers and officers in this garrison.²⁴⁸ It is also possible that they received some assistance from individual Jacobite supporters such as Paterson or other fellow countrymen, especially as they had arrived in an under-equipped state.

After the failed 1715 uprising, we find further sojourning Jacobites in Bremen and Hamburg. For example, in 1716 William Gordon received a letter from Sir Henry Crawford from Bremen in which the latter reported that he had left Bergen a few days earlier. He was accompanied by Colonel Clephan and both men continued their journey to Paris via Leiden a few days later.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, in June 1716 a group of Scots including John Carnegy of Boisack, his brothers-in-law John Fullarton and Charles Forbes of Balgowan escaped from Inverness to Hamburg.²⁵⁰ However, it

²⁴³ J.G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685–91* (London, 1969), 260.

²⁴⁴ TNA, SP82/18 fol. 29, Rycaut to ?, 14 June 1692.

²⁴⁵ CSPD, 1692, Earl of Nottingham to Monsieur Hoffmann, 24 June 1692; TNA, SP82/18 fol. 29, Rycaut to ?, Hamburg, 14 June 1692.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.; SP82/18 fol. 31–32, Rycaut to ?, Hamburg, 17 June 1692.

²⁴⁷ TNA, SP82/18 fol. 38, Rycaut to ?, Hamburg, 1 July 1692. Apparently more than half of Lord Iveagh's troops deserted at Hamburg. David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c. 1560–1688* (Farnham, 2012), 192.

²⁴⁸ These soldiers had joined Danish service after the Swedish conflict with the allied forces of Brunswick-Lünburg, Münster and Denmark had ended in 1679. See chapter 3.

²⁴⁹ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 157, William Gordon to John Paterson, Paris, 16 May 1716 (It is unclear whether Crawford referred to the city or the duchy of Bremen although the former is more likely); HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, Hugh Paterson to Mar, Leiden, 28 May 1716.

²⁵⁰ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 270–271, John Fullarton to Mar, 10 July 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, John Carnegy to Mar, Rouen, 15 July 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 313, Charles Forbes to Mar, Amsterdam, 28 July 1716. John Carnegy of Boisack was a former MP for Forfarshire and a client of the Earl of Mar. See for example RPS, Act Anent Supply, 6 July 1704. See also Daniel Szechi, 1715: *The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (Yale, 2006), 43.

is unclear whether they deliberately chose the city as their destination or whether Hamburg was simply the first place they could get a ship to. Carnegie stayed three weeks in the city where he met the Comte of Croissy several times who supported him financially but who had continued his journey to The Hague on his return to France.²⁵¹ After his stay in Hamburg, Carnegie continued to Rouen leaving the other three Scots in the city, but they too intended to travel to the Netherlands.²⁵² Another Scot to go to Hamburg was Sir John Erskine who was instructed by the exiled Stuart king to contact General Hugo Hamilton in Swedish service after his arrival at the city.²⁵³ Erskine was to inform Hamilton that he was to wait on the king of Sweden but that he had been ordered to stop at Hamburg in order to hear from Hamilton if the king was willing to enter into talks with James and his followers on a memorial sent to him from Paris.²⁵⁴ Furthermore, Erskine was to gather information on affairs within Hanoverian territory. However he later reported that there was such a lack of communication between the city and Hanover to the point that he was resolved to send somebody to the place in order to improve the flow of information if he had stayed in the city.²⁵⁵ During this period, Hamburg turned out to be an insecure place for Jacobites. In August 1716 the Duke of Mar expressed his concerns about John Erskine after he had heard that something serious had happened to an (unnamed) friend at Hamburg.²⁵⁶ In order to protect himself Erskine thus chose to stay at Lübeck stopping at Hamburg only briefly on his return journey to the Netherlands.²⁵⁷ Travelling through the wider Elbe-Weser region did not prove to be the best experience. Erskine reported that he was forced to stay in a 'nasty little village' 40 English miles northwest of Hamburg where he saw 'hundreds of everlastingly smoking and swallowing very bad beer and brandy' with whom communication

²⁵¹ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, John Carnegie to Mar, Rouen, 15 July 1716. The Comte of Croissy (Louis-Francois-Henri Colbert) was the French ambassador to the Swedish monarch.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 288, James III to John Erskine, Avignon, 17 July 1716. NN on Hugo Hamilton.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 502–503, John Erskine to Mar, Amsterdam, 30 September 1716.

²⁵⁶ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 328, Mar to John Erskine, 6 August 1716.

²⁵⁷ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 366–368, John Erskine to Mar, Lübeck, 23 August 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 370–371, John Erskine to Mar, Lübeck, 26 August 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 414, John Erskine to Lieutenant-General Dillon, 8 September 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, 422–3, John Erskine to Mar, 11 September 1716.

was impossible.²⁵⁸ After three days he was brought to a place in the duchy of Bremen which was apparently even worse from where Erskine set out to sea but was forced to return to the Weser by a storm. Setting out again Erskine experienced another three heavy storms in 36 hours before coming ashore at Groningen where he 'made my skipper a low bow' indicating his gratitude at land-fall.²⁵⁹ Although some of this report may have been exaggerated to amuse Erskine's correspondent it nevertheless proves that Scots continued to cross political borders of the wider Elbe-Weser region, and occasionally find a politically sympathetic countryman.²⁶⁰

Several other (unidentified) Jacobites traversed the region in 1716 and 1717 on their way to Scandinavia, prompting the Hanoverian Cyril Wich to travel to Lübeck in order to hinder their journeys through this port.²⁶¹ He also cooperated with the Danish Lieutenant-Colonel Lutz whose regiment patrolled the passages between Lübeck and Hamburg and examined all travellers on this route.²⁶² Despite their endeavours, Jacobite activity was not completely eradicated within the region. For example, in 1717 Charles Forbes returned to Hamburg (despite the dangers Erskine had faced in the previous year) on an errand for which he spent £157 and 12 shillings.²⁶³

The above demonstrates that the wider Elbe-Weser region was of some limited significance to Jacobite activity. Bremen and Hamburg were important transit places although personal safety could not always be guaranteed after 1715. Furthermore, the geographical proximity to Scandinavia made Hamburg an excellent place from where to communicate with the King of Sweden and with Scottish officers close to the monarch who could support the cause of the exiled Stuart monarch. Interestingly, so far we cannot prove any links between the Jacobite agents and Scottish (and English) merchants present at Hamburg comparable to those which existed in Bordeaux.²⁶⁴ According to John Carnegie of Boisack it had been the French Comte of Croissy who supported him and his fellow travellers

²⁵⁸ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, 499–502, John Erskine to Mar, Stoere on Elbe, 15 September 1716. Going by the despatch address of this letter Erskine probably referred to the village Stör situated approximately 12 kilometres west of Itzehoe in Holstein.

²⁵⁹ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, 502–503, John Erskine to Mar, Amsterdam, 30 September 1716.

²⁶⁰ It has been argued that many Scots abroad were simply ambivalent to the Jacobite cause. Murdoch, 'The French Connection', 39; Siobhan Talbott, 'Jacobites, Anti-Jacobites and the Ambivalent: Scottish Identities in France, 1680–1720' in B. Sellin, A. Thiec and P. Carboni (eds.), *Écosse: l'identité nationale en question* (Nantes, 2009), 73–87.

²⁶¹ NAS, GD158/1538, Cyril Wich to ?, Lübeck, 4 June 1717.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ HMC, *Stuart Papers*, IV, 362, William Gordon to Mar, Paris, 16 June 1717.

²⁶⁴ Murdoch, 'The French Connection', 39–41.

rather than British Jacobites.²⁶⁵ From the documents analysed it is impossible to say whether the Merchant Adventurers or independent 'British' traders were hostile or sympathetic to the Jacobites or simply indifferent. But given the nature of the migration patterns of the later seventeenth century it is easy to conclude that Jacobite exiles had more chance of securing assistance in places with communities openly sympathetic to the exiled House of Stuart than in the wider Elbe-Weser region.

Conclusion

There were numerous reasons for Scottish ministers, religious groups and political exiles to move into the wider Elbe-Weser region. Where there were merchants, such as at Hamburg, there was a need to minister to their families. The presence of a cleric such as Young was thus to be expected. A second group had higher ambitions than simple ministry; John Durie and Sampson Johnson were part of an itinerant Scottish clergy on an irenicist mission. Thirdly, there was an exile community, therefore adding another layer building on these other two groups. Like them, they held links across ethnic boundaries with English, French, Dutch and Germans. In many cases the mercantile activity of the exiles is hard to separate from the political or cultural. Whereas some of the individuals who were expected in Bremen and Lüneburg were looking for shelter from prosecution and economic security others—like Hog—were apparently more focused on commercial opportunities. However, the attempt to build, reform and maintain a reformed community 'in God' rather than 'by nation' was quite apparent in the Elbe-Weser region. Both communities envisaged by Waller in Bremen and Lüneburg faced difficulties. In Bremen these seemed to come from outside. It was the pressure from Charles II and Bevil Skelton in Hamburg which forced the Bremen authorities to release Waller and to give up the proposed 'British' community. In Lüneburg incomers faced complaints and resistance from the local population who feared their competition. This was especially so as the decision to attract foreigners had not been made by the city's authorities but by the ducal authorities at Celle. However, pressure also came

²⁶⁵ After his stays in Hamburg and Rouen Carnegy intended to travel to Paris to meet the Comte of Croissy again. In 1717 we find Carnegy in Rome. His role and activities on the continent are yet to be established. HMC, *Stuart Papers*, II, Carnegy to Mar, Rouen, 15 July 1716; HMC, *Stuart Papers*, IV, 461, Carnegy to John Paterson, Rome, 21 July 1717.

from the Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg. This was perhaps one of the reasons why only Robert Hog's factory was successful in the long term (although he also faced severe difficulties). This chapter has contributed to the important study of reformed exile communities by adding to results of Gardner and Murdoch. However, it also shows how the exiles tried to build a livelihood in new locations in Europe where they could not rely on an established expatriate community. Clearly mercantile considerations were just as important as spiritual concerns in their negotiations with the local authorities. This chapter brings to light entrepreneurial activities previously overlooked and gives an additional strand to results on Scottish commercial activity within the wider Elbe-Weser region demonstrated in chapter 2. But with the Glorious Revolution in England in 1688 and the deposition of James VII in Scotland the following year, the need for building a reformed community had diminished. A new wave of exiles—the Jacobites—headed for the continent, but the Elbe-Weser region was a long way from their preferred destinations in France, Spain and Rome. While agents were sent to the region on information gathering exercises, there simply was not the weight of numbers of individuals with similar political or confessional ambitions to support them as there were for the earlier Calvinist refugees. Thus their stays were short-lived and probably contributed little to the Jacobite cause. And through all the political intrigues discussed there remained those for whom making a living, if not a huge profit, came before the aspiration of the Kirk of Scotland, the Williamite regime or the exiled House of Stuart.

CONCLUSION

Looking at an imaginary map of those places which have received intensive scholarly attention in regard to the Scottish Diaspora or Scottish contacts with the wider world previous studies have tended to overlook the northwest German territories as either a significant trading destination, or recipient region for Scottish migration. The lack of any kind of systematic research of the region as a whole has left a clear gap in our knowledge of this field prompting scholars to make assumptions about the importance or otherwise of the region to Scotland, or of Scots to the region. Scotland's Historiographer Royal, Professor Christopher Smout, regarded the region as being of peripheral value to Scotland though he formed this judgement without consulting German archives, a common oversight among historians of Scotland.¹ German historians of particular areas within the Elbe-Weser region have sometimes observed an occasional Scot or even, like Kurt Schwebel, done a detailed survey of a particular commodity (salt). Previous scholarship has, however, been marred by two main problems: Scholars of Scottish history dealing with the early modern period have largely been content to view the entire region in a singular context with the Hanseatic towns of Bremen and Hamburg often mentioned together, with little obvious understanding of the differences between them, particularly in confessional terms. The importance of other urban centres and duchies which make up the Elbe-Weser region are often also completely overlooked. In missing out crucial centres such as Glückstadt, Altona, Buxtehude, Lüneburg or Stade, scholars have effectively hamstrung their own research.

The problem is not confined to British historians as we have seen from the histories reviewed in this survey that German (and Scandinavian) scholars are largely content to produce studies of their own chosen regions (Andreas Flick for Brunswick-Lüneburg, Kurt Schwebel for Bremen or Beate-Christine Fiedler for Bremen-Verden). Some of these understate or ignore the inter-connectedness of neighbouring territories even in a purely German context, let alone through the study of Scottish, English, French or Dutch migration into them. One need only reflect on the intense debates of several scholars prevaricating over the influx of the French and

¹ Smout, *Scottish Trade*, 166.

English reformed community in Lüneburg or Bremen to realise that locking neighbouring areas together adds significant substance to arguments deployed by them and illuminates the complexities of the region itself as described in the opening chapter. How else might we have found the true importance of William Waller and his Scottish supporters Major George Low and George Melville?

The histories of the individual territories have certainly provided valuable insights into aspects of the region. But their demonstrable limitations are compounded by scholars of the region who confuse and conflate Scots with Englishmen (or other foreigners) as with the Waller case above. This reflects a genuine confusion in some cases (particularly where it has taken archival sources from beyond Germany to identify a particular individual Scot). It also exposes the problems posed by those academics to whom England and Britain are erroneously interchangeable terminologies and who think that Scotland is somehow a part of the former rather than the latter.² However to some degree the ethnic confusion itself can be traced to the success of commercial and integration strategies which saw Scots deliberately obscure their identities in order to seek some advantage by calling themselves English, British or Dutch—men such as Robert Jolly, Robert Hog or William Grison. Having opened this survey with a definition of the wider Elbe-Weser region it has been possible to construct a more complete appraisal of the role of Scots within the area than previous scholarship or methodologies has allowed for. By paying close attention to the methods used in a variety of projects with similar aims to this one (mentioned throughout the text), it has been possible to emphatically detail the importance of both Scots *and* inadvertently Englishmen in a variety of capacities which more often saw members of the two nations working together rather than apart.

The conclusions pertaining to each type of network discussed in this monograph have been presented at the end of individual chapters, but it is worth reconsidering each finding in its own right and in connection with the other chapters. It is apparent that no member of any of the networks discussed solely confined themselves to a strictly commercial, confessional, political or military capacity. Indeed it is only when taken together that the real substance of their networking achievements can be fully understood or the reasons for their failures clarified. From the

² Reißmann, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft*, 55–58; Witzendorff, 'Bremens Handel', 145–147.

commercial standpoint it has been easy to demonstrate that rather than being of little significance to Scotland or Germany, economic activity was fundamentally important to several types of merchants, be they Shetland fish dealers, Bremen salt merchants, Fife salt pan operators or Culross coal merchants. Scottish merchants dealing with salt, whitefish and coal maintained significant commercial links with the ports of Bremen and Hamburg evidenced by the strategic placement of family members in both cities (Robert Dunbar, Robert Jolly). Furthermore, Scots attempted to claim a bigger market share for herring exports despite fierce competition with the Dutch. The foundation of a Scottish-Hamburg fishing company does not only evidence commercial flexibility demonstrated by Scottish traders but also the existence of meaningful connections between Scottish and German merchants. Furthermore the presence of permanently settled traders and factors like Robert Barclay, John Beck, William Grison, Robert Jolly, Archibald Mercer or Gilbert Spence clearly signifies that the region offered business opportunities to these men. As we have seen, the business links of Alexander and Robert Jolly were highly diversified. They traded not only with Scotland but also with the Baltic, England, France and the United Provinces, engaging in Hamburg's entrepôt trade between these destinations. This necessitated their operation within complex commercial networks. The same is true for the business operations of William Grison and Gilbert Spence which stretched far beyond Scotland. These connections have to be factored in when evaluating Scottish trade in the early modern period which was evidently not confined to simple bilateral exchanges. At the same time previous scholarship has underestimated the outside contacts of merchants settled within Scotland, particularly in Shetland. While the orthodox view has usually stated that it was exclusively German merchants who visited the islands in the pre-Union period there is clear evidence that Shetland merchants traded within the region from the early seventeenth century in addition to those inhabitants who crewed Hamburg ships. Moreover, from the mid-1680s the Scottish merchant Robert Jolly and his brother, the skipper Alexander Jolly took over part of the city's trade links with the islands while the Shetland merchant Arthur Nicolson visited Hamburg in 1705. What we have shown in this monograph is that these commercial facets were of older vintage than previously thought; they were of greater value as evidenced by the competition posed to the Dutch in terms of fish, the French in terms of salt and the English in terms of coal.

It has to be emphasised that it is impossible to gauge the number of Scottish merchants active within the region at any one time, but they

were certainly more significant than has previously been stated. However, the frequent notion of the presence of (often unnamed) Scottish traders in Scottish documents signifies that Scottish commercial activity was not confined to the examples of Scots used in this survey and we are frustratingly left with evidence of the presence of many Scottish traders for whom the record base does not inform us of any actual trade. Furthermore, Scottish commercial activity within the region was not limited to Scottish merchants, but also included the employment of indigenous factors like Arnold Havemann and Arend Meier in Germany and the arrival of the Germans themselves in Scotland. Add to this the role Bremen and Hamburg played supplying the various factions of the British Civil Wars or Stade, Altona and Glückstadt had in commercial deceptions such as supplying flags of convenience and we can be left in no doubt that the region was of significant commercial importance, albeit a quantification of that will have to await a further study.

In addition to the above, we can for the first time add to these findings research demonstrating the importance of textiles to the region—not just the importation of cloth as may have made it into a footnote, but the founding of a textile complex by Robert Hog which outlasted its English, French and even German competitors and bridged the period from the reign of James VII/II to the reign of Queen Anne. The example of Hog is important for a number of reasons, not least because he exemplifies indirect migration into Northwest Germany from the Netherlands rather than Scotland, and did so on the back of a mixed political, military and exile network. This was not uncommon. While scrutiny of port registers and customs books provide specific detail about the arrival and departure of goods, they have not been able to flesh out the detail of cargo ownership, triangular trade patterns or the commercial operations of the individuals involved in complex transactions. Thus a study based solely on them would miss interesting facts about the funding of the commercial operations. It is examples such as the Scottish major in Swedish service, Alexander Garden, and his funding of Scotsmen and Englishmen in Hamburg that again emphasize the porous nature of political boundaries to capital flow, and the folly of looking only to entrepreneurs when trying to establish the funding of commercial operations. Furthermore, the obvious ethnic connection Garden held with his fellow Scots which even benefited English Adventurers is apparent. And on a different level, the transactions of the recipients of these loans had an unquantifiable impact on the local German economy.

That ethnic connections were important to the Scots studied is apparent by their actions if rarely mentioned in surviving correspondence. Nonetheless, we are often afforded insightful glimpses. Robert Jolly for example maintained significant commercial links with family members or fellow Scottish merchants either within the region, in Scotland or abroad. Furthermore, the cases of Robert Hog or George Ernest Melville positively confirm that their Scottish origin mattered to them even if they spent most or all of their life abroad or, in Patrick More's case, even died in their adopted land. The existence of Scottish links based on kith and kin and common origin have been copiously described, particularly those in Sweden, Denmark, Poland-Lithuania and the Netherlands. To these we can now meaningfully describe a variety of networks and social connections in Northwest Germany to further develop our understanding of how and where these developed, as well as demonstrate how the wider Elbe-Weser region fitted into the wider Scottish networks which linked Scotland, Scandinavia, France, the Netherlands and even the trans-atlantic world.

It is true that in many cases the devices used by the Scots to pursue their goals in Northwest Germany often mirrored the activities of countrymen elsewhere; there were also noticeable differences from compatriots in places like Rotterdam, Bergen or Cracow. The absence of an identifiable but exclusive Scottish mercantile community is revealing—and can be explained by a combination of factors including the presence of the English Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg or a greater willingness to facilitate full integration in locations like the city of Bremen. These prompted (or perhaps forced) Scots to embrace links with the indigenous population and other foreigners more strongly than in those places where Scottish institutions or organised support networks existed.³ The wider Elbe-Weser region having no such distinctively Scottish structures thus provides us with an interesting geo-political region in which to scrutinise how the Scots operated in such an environment.

A recurring theme of this study has been Anglo-Scottish interaction and the disguising of Scottish identities as 'English' or 'British'. The Scottish dimension to the activities of the English Adventurers was fully teased

³ For a wider discussion on interaction with host communities and other foreigners see Grosjean and Murdoch, 'Introduction', in Grosjean and Murdoch, *Scottish Communities*, 3–15.

out in previous chapters. The company of Merchant Adventurers was undoubtedly pivotal to Anglo-Scottish cooperation. Scottish merchants maintained close links with the company and were among its members profiting from the extensive privileges granted by the Hamburg authorities. Men like Robert Jolly, however, were happy to abuse the English privilege when it suited them, protest their Scottishness when things did not go their way and apparently live out a successful entrepreneurial life in Germany effectively as a local merchant, occasionally paying taxes as a foreigner. Anglo-Scottish interaction was not, however, confined to mercantile activity but also occurred in the religious as well as in the diplomatic and military sphere. It is here that we find evidence for Scots like John Durie and James King and Englishmen like Averie buying into or at least overtly expressing a 'British' identity. This can be attributed to a variety of factors. In the early days it was undoubtedly a reaction to the British policies of James VI/I and his Scoto-British diplomatic corps. It survived the British Civil Wars with pro-Royalists and anti-Royalists each continuing to associate with supporters of their position from whichever ethnic background they came from. It found perhaps its greatest expression in Northwest Germany firstly though the commercial cooperation we see in the Merchant Adventurers. Another incarnation of Britishness in Germany manifested itself in the attempted establishment of the reformed communities at Bremen and Lüneburg. They were conceived within a multi-ethnic framework housing English, Scottish as well as other nationals, albeit to the locals they were collectively usually referred to as English or when Scots, like Robert Hog, were prepared to describe themselves as such.

The complications of ethnic identification reached a new height when non-British or German powers become involved. For example, the arrival of the Swedes created an interesting dimension and brought many more Scots into the region than would otherwise have been there. It is doubtful that Stade or Buxtehude would have seen the arrival of anyone other than a transient Scot had not the Swedish duchies established administrative and commercial alternatives to neighbouring Bremen and Hamburg. It was Scots arriving in their capacity as Swedish soldiers who perhaps made most use of the ambiguous relationships which connected the two main hubs. For sure the most important role came initially as military conquerors, such as when Alexander Leslie led the siege of Buxtehude in 1632. However, when the Swedes formed the Army of the Weser, Leslie became its field marshal placing him and numerous other Scots in command of Northwest German troops on behalf of Sweden. Thereafter, administration of the region itself devolved partly to Scots with Alexander Erskine

taking a chief role. But crucially the presence of the Swedish-Scots also led to Scottish land ownership (Alexander Erskine, Robert Douglas), commercial exchanges (Alexander Garden), and settlement (Patrick More), as well as the bridging of political gaps through the relations forged between Erskine, Bremen city and the neighbouring Swedish duchy. Having once served the Swedes in Bremen, some of these officers moved elsewhere in the region, often using Hamburg as a military base to purchase arms, conspire, obtain men or simply meet in a neutral environment with fellow countrymen of opposite political persuasions (Cochrane and King). Others like Melville and Mollison preferred the Calvinist comfort afforded by the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. They in turn were responsible for the support of Calvinist exiles coming from Scotland, England and the Netherlands and ultimately still more commercial exchange through the support of entrepreneur exiles like Robert Hog. Thus the final chapter of this monograph serves to return us to the earlier chapters on both commerce and military and political networks. In each chapter the importance of the Scots in both Scottish and non-Scottish communities and networks has been amply demonstrated, finally filling a significant gap in our understanding of Scotland and the wider world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished Primary Sources

BRITAIN

Mitchell Library, Glasgow:

B 325799 Letterbook of Adam Montgomerie, 1699–1702.

The National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh:

AC	High Court of Admiralty.
CC8	Edinburgh Commissary Court.
CS	Court of Session Records.
E72	Exchequer Records: Customs Books (Second Series: 1668–1696).
GD18	Clerk Family Papers.
GD19	Kirkpatrick Family Papers.
GD23	Warrant of Bught.
GD26	Leven and Melville Papers.
GD29	Kinross House Papers.
GD57	Burnett and Reid Records.
GD124	Mar and Kellie Papers.
GD190	Smythe Family Papers.
GD406	Hamilton Papers.
RD	Register of Deeds.
RH4/137	Papers of the Earls of Morton.
RH9	Miscellaneous Papers.
RH15/14	Alexander Campbell Papers.
RH15/49	James Baillie Papers.
RH15/93	Charles Mitchell Papers.
RH15/101	Alexander Pyper Papers.
RH15/106	Andrew Russell Papers.
RH15/140	Jolly Family Papers.
RH16	Genealogies.

Old Parish Registers, Prestonpans (accessed online at www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk).

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:

Acc.12868	Bruce Family Papers.
AP.4.89.5	'Hertz-Erquickendes Trost-Urtheil'.
1.22 (6)	Pamphlet Series, Copy of the Agreement concerning the Herring Trade, 1711.

Orkney Archives, Kirkwall:

CO1	Commissioners of Supply.
D38	Earldom of Orkney (Morton).

Perth & Kinross Council Archive:

B59	Records of Perth Burgh
B59/24/2/1–3	Bequest paid by Margareta More

St Andrews University Library, Special Collections:
MS 38527/3b/10/3 Watson Papers.

The National Archives, London:

State Papers 75 (Denmark)
State Papers 81 (Germany)
State Papers 82 (Secretaries of State: Hamburg and Hanse Towns)
State Papers 95 (Sweden)
State Papers 103/31 (Hanse Towns: Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen, 1586–1724).
prob/11/565/466 Will, Bartholomew Bludworth.

DENMARK

Rigsarkiv, Copenhagen:

TKUA ENGLAND

A II 7 Akter og Dokumenter vedr. det politiske Forhold til England, 1588–1664.
A II 16 Akter og Dokumenter vedr. det politiske Forhold til England, 1649–1659.
A II 17 Akter og Dokumenter vedr. det politiske Forhold til England, 1660–71.

GERMANY

Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Oldenburg:

Best. 20 Grafschaft Oldenburg
No. 298 Weserzoll 1637
AB-D2–D29 Weserzollregister 1653/1654–1679.

Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Staatsarchiv Stade:

Rep. 5 Celler Akten der braunschweigisch-lüneburgischen Besetzung 1675–1680.
Fach 376, Gesuch des Generalmajors Patrick More zu Buxtehude wegen zugelegter Einquartierung und um Zinszahlungen (1679).
Rep. 5a Schwedisches Regierungsarchiv
Vol. 1, Fach 132, No. 17, Acta betr. die Bestallung des Kriegsaths P. More zu Stade, May 1674.
Vol. 3, Fach 178, No. 1, Acta betr. den Überfall des Zoll- und Acciseverwalters in Brunshausen von schottischen Völkern, 1656.

Staatsarchiv Bremen

2-P.6. Rat/Senat.
Wittheitsprotokolle. 2-P.6.a.9.c.3.b.1.-19, 1613–1698.
2-P.8. Bürger und Einwohner.
Bürgerbücher Altstadt. 2-P.8.A.19.a.2.a.-f., 1586–1720.
2-Qq. Justiz und Gerichte.
2-Qq.10.4.b. Obergerichtsprotokolle 1673–1677.
2-R.5 Militärwesen vornehmlich vor 1813.
2-R.5.d.13.a. Offiziere des Stadtmilitärs.
2-R.11. Schifffahrt zur See.
2-R.11.kk. Hitlandfahrer.
2-Ss.2. Handel und Banken.
2-Ss.2.a.2.f.2.s. Akte betreffend Gilbert Spence, Kaufmann.
2-Ss.2.a.2.f.2.b. Bremische Firmen/ William Colclough.
2-Ss.2.b.S.2. Salz.
2-Ss.2.b.w.4. Waffen.
2-T.2. Venerandum Ministerium.
2-T.2.b.4.c. Acta Venerandi Ministerii 1667–1707.

- 2-W. Verhältnis Bremens zu einzelnen Ländern und Städten.
 2-W.9.b.1 England. Verschiedenes.
 2-W.9.b.10. Korrespondenz mit dem hans. Hausmeister in London wegen der Beschwerde der Bremer Hitlandfahrer 1661–1662.
 2-W.9.b.14. Forderung der königlichen Salzverkäufer in Schottland Robert und Alexander Mylne an den brem. Ratsherrn Arnold Havemann und dessen Erben aus Salzverkäufen 1674–1675.
 2-W.9.b.17. Ernennung William Wallers.
 Findbuch zum Bestand Kirchengemeinden, Kirchenbücher 1581–1943 (Marietta Schiele-Veltl and Karl Schulz eds., Bremen, 1997).

Akziseregister 1617.
 Bürgeranträge 1608–1811.
 Trauungskollekten ab 1656.
 Steuerzahlerregister 1638–1668.
 Seepässe 1592–1621.
 Accessed online at www.genealogy.net/vereine/maus/datenbanken/akzise/index.

Staatsarchiv Hamburg:

- 111–1 Senat.
 Cl. VI Hanseatica; auswärtige Angelegenheiten.
 Cl. VIII Stadtbücher und Protokolle.
 No. Xa 1674, 1680, 1693.
 371.2 Admiralitätskollegium.
 F4, vol. 13–14, 1644–1646.
 512–6 Kirche der English Court.
 741–2 Genealogische Sammlungen.
 Die Fremden in den Rechnungsbüchern der Wedde und Kämmerei, Wedde I, Nr. 18.
 Register zu den Bürgerbüchern 1596–1732.
 Verzeichnis der Hamburger Hitland-Fahrer 1547–1646.
 Verzeichnis der Hamburger Schonen-Fahrer.

Stadtarchiv Buxtehude:

- StH. 38. M1–3 Obrist Patrick More.

Stadtarchiv Lüneburg:

- B4 No. 71 Acta von Bürgerschaften 1652–1699.
 G3e Gewerbesachen in spec. Fabrik- und Manufactur-Sachen.
 No. 2 Acta betr. die fremden Nationen, so allhier der Fabriken wegen sich niedergelassen haben.
 No. 7 Sarges—Manufaktur von H. Obristen Waller vorgeschlagen.
 No. 8 Acta betr. Jean de Rossier Sorans Spitzen—Manufaktur und Weinschank, 1685.
 No. 19 Acta in Sachen verschiedener Creditoren: Anton de Pau, Robert Hog und Hofrat Heyland, 1686–1691.
 No. 20 Acta wegen Robert Hog und Anton Pau dissolvierter Societet 1686–1688.
 No. 22 Acta betr. Robert Hog und Anton Pau Tuchfabrik 1684–1690.
 No. 23 Hogs und Paus Separatio Societas bei der hiesigen Lakenmanufaktur betreffend 1686–1687.
 No. 36 Acta betr. der Engländer Angefangenes Tuchbereiter-Amt 1685–1686.
 M2a2 Militaria in specie den Commandanten und Garnison betr.
 No. 4 Acta betr. die hiesigen H. Commandanten und deren Gehalt.
 P7 No. 17 Protocol Curiae 1684–1685.

Universitätsbibliothek Bremen:

CS61 Nr.3 'Der Frommen Aufrichtigen köstliches und endliches Kleynodt'.

SWEDEN

Krigsarkiv, Stockholm:

Karl Viggo Keys Samlingen.

0035:0418: Muster Roll, 1647/21 James Lundie.

Riksarkiv, Stockholm:

Alexander Erskines Samlingen.

E3586 Robert Douglas, Alexander Leslie.

E3588 Patrick Ruthven.

Anglica VII, 542.

Bremensia.

No. 1 Alexander Erskine.

No. 48 D. Hamilton.

No. 54 Alexander Erskine.

No. 55 Johannes Kynnaardt.

No. 79 J.W. Broun.

No. 81 James Forbes, Carl Gustav Erskine, Thomas Erskine.

No. 82 George Guthrie.

No. 83 James Johnston.

No. 85 Jacob Lindsay, P. Macklier.

No. 88 John Ruthven.

No. 92 Robert Bruce, John Drummond.

No. 93 John Drummond.

No. 98 ? Spence.

No. 117 George Guthrie.

No. 120 John Drummond.

No. 147 George Guthrie.

Coyetska Samlingen

Vol.2 E3398 William Cranstoun.

Vol. 5 E3401 Bengt Skytte, Lo. Leslie, Archibald Erskine, William Swann.

de la Gardie Samlingen

E1399 Alexander Erskine.

E1409 Alexander Forbes.

E1428 Archibald Hamilton, Hugo Hamilton.

E1501 Patrick More.

E1574 William Swann.

E1590 John Urquart.

Depositio Skytteana

E5412 John Beaton, James Stewart, Urquart.

Erik Dahlbergs Samling

B 6 a: E3491 John Drummond.

Oxenstiernska Samlingen

E556 Robert Anstruther, Joseph Averie.

E588 Thomas Dischington.

E589 John Durie.

E593 Alexander Erskine.

E601 Alexander Forbes, Peter Forbes, William Forbes.

E604 Herbert Gladstone.

E661 John R. Monro, Patrick More.

E695 Thomas Roe.

E703 Frances Ruthven.

- E 718 James Seton.
 E957 Alexander Forbes.
 E1048 George Fleetwood, Alexander Forbes.
 Rydboholmsamlingen.
 E7905 Alexander Erskine, Carl Gustav Erskine.
 E7943 James Lundie.
 Skoklostersamlingen Personarkiv.
 E8195 Alexander Forbes, William Forbes.
 E8359 William Forbes.
 Skoklostersamlingen II, Carl Gustaf Wrangels Arkiv.
 E8336 Richard Clerk.
 E8423 Patrick More.
 E8355 Alexander Erskine.
 E8359 William Forbes.
 E8423 Patrick More.
 E8558 Patrick More.
 Stegeborgsamlingen, Johan Casimirs Skrivelser.
 E35 James King.
 E37 Alexander Leslie.
 Stegeborgsamlingen II, Arvprinsen Carl Gustafs Arkiv.
 E128 Robert Douglas.
 E146 James King.
 E151 William Lindsay, James Lundie.
 E155 Patrick More.
 E174 Patrick Ruthven.
 E275 Alexander Forbes.
 Wijksamlingen, Bernhard von Liewens och Hedvig Horns Arkiv.
 E2837 Carl Gustav Erskine.

Published Primary Sources

- Acts of the Privy Council of England* (45 vols., London, 1890–1964).
 Ameer-Ali, Torrick (ed.), *Memoirs of Sir Andrew Melville* (London, 1918).
 Anderson, R.C. (ed.), *Journals of Sir Thomas Allen* (London, 1939).
 Barry, Patricia, Chambers, Margaret and Clucas, Stephen (eds.), *The Hartlib Papers* (CD-Rom, Michigan 2002).
 Bohmbach, Jürgen (ed.), *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Stade* (Hildesheim/Stade 1981).
 Botfield, B. (ed.), *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries A.D. 1635–A.D. 1699* (Aberdeen, 1859).
 Brand, John, *A Brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland Firth & Caithness* (Edinburgh, 1701).
 Bricka, C.F. and Fredericia, J.A. et al. (eds.), *Kong Christian den Fjerdes egenhaendige Breve* (8 vols., Copenhagen, 1878–1947).
 Brockington, William (ed.), *Monro, Robert: His Expedition with a worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keyes*, (Conneticut/London, 1999).
 Brown, Keith M. et al. (eds.), *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* (online publication, St Andrews, 2007–2009).
Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series, First Series, 1547–1625 (13 vols., London, 1856–1992).
 —, Second Series, 1625–1649 (23 vols., London, 1858–1897).
 —, Third Series, 1649–1660, (13 vols., London, 1875–1886).
 —, Fourth Series, 1660–1685 (29 vols., London, 1860–1939).
 —, Fifth Series, 1685–1689 (3 vols., London, 1960–1972).
 —, Sixth Series, 1689–1702 (11 vols., London, 1895–1937).

- , Seventh Series, 1702–1705 (3 vols., London, 1916–2005).
Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers 1709, vol. 23 (London, 1949)
Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1665–1680 (Edinburgh, 1950).
Extracts from the Record of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, 1677–1711 (Edinburgh, 1880).
Fedosov, Dmitry (ed.), *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699* (2 vols., Aberdeen, 2009).
Gifford, Thomas, *Historical Description of the Zetland Islands in the year 1733* (Edinburgh, 1879).
Hartlib, Samuel, *A Briefe Relation of That Which Hath Been Lately Attempted to Procure Ecclesiastical Peace Amongst Protestants* (1641).
Historical Manuscript Commission, *Calendar of the Stuart Papers, belonging to His Majesty the King, preserved at Windsor Castle* (7 vols., London, 1902–1923).
—, *Seventh Report* (London, 1879).
Hume, James, of Godscroft, *Rhadiomatheia Linguae Haebraeae: hoc est grammatical Haebraea opera* (Hamburg, 1624).
Lucae, Friedrich (ed.), *Der Chronist Friedrich Lucae. Ein Zeit- und Sittenbild* (Frankfurt, 1854).
Mabbott, Thomas Ollive (ed.), *The State Papers of John Milton* (New York, 1937).
Macinnes, C.T. (ed.), *Calendar of Writs of Monro of Fowls, 1299–1823* (Edinburgh, 1940).
Mackay, William (ed.), *The Letter-Book of Bailie John Steuart of Inverness 1715–1752* (Edinburgh, 1915).
Meikle, H.W. (ed.), *Correspondence of the Scots Commissioners in London 1644–1646* (Edinburgh, 1917).
Morland-Simpson, H.F. (ed.), *Civil War Papers 1643–1650* (Edinburgh, 1893).
Müller, Hartmut (ed.), *Peter Koster: Chronik der Kaiserlichen Freien Reichsstadt und Hansestadt Bremen 1600–1700* (Bremen, 2004).
Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland, First Series, 1545–1625 (14 vols., Edinburgh, 1877–1898).
—, Second Series, 1625–1660 (8 vols., Edinburgh, 1899–1908).
—, Third Series, 1660–1691 (15 vols., Edinburgh, 1909–1970).
Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter och Brefvexling (15 vols., Stockholm, 1888–1977).
Roseveare, H. (ed.), *Markets and Merchants of the Late Seventeenth Century: The Marscoe-Devid Letters, 1668–1680* (Oxford, 1987).
Schubert, Franz (ed.), *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Hamburgs* (14 vols., Göttingen, 1994–2000).
—, *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern im nördlichen Niedersachsen* (6 vols., Göttingen, 1997–1999).
—, *Trauregister aus den ältesten Kirchenbüchern Schleswig-Holsteins* (18 vols., Göttingen, 1985–2000).
Stevenson, David (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Kincardine, 1657–73* (Ashgate, 2007).
Tayler, E.H. (ed.), *The Jacobite Court At Rome in 1719. From the original documents at Fettercairn House and at Windsor Castle* (Edinburgh, 1938).
Turner, Sir James, *Memoirs of His Own Life and Times* (Edinburgh, 1829).

Database Sources

- Backhausen, H. et al. (eds.), *Oxenstiernaregistret* (Stockholm, 2006), published online at www.62.20.57.212/ra/ao/startsidea.
Brown, Keith M. et al. (eds.), *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* (St Andrews, 2007–2009), published online at www.rps.ac.uk.
Grosjean, Alexia and Murdoch, Steve (eds.), *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe 1580–1707* (Aberdeen, 1998), published online at www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne.

Unpublished Thesis

Steve Murdoch, Scotland, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, University of Aberdeen, 1998.

Reference Works

Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (56 vols., Leipzig, 1875–1912).

Sillem, W., 'Johann Adolf Tassius', vol. 37, 411–412.

Bade, Klaus J. et al. (eds.), *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa: Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (München, 2007).

Christoph von Ehrenstein, 'Jakobiten in Europa 1688–1788', 707–710.

Bischoff, Malte and Worgull, Lars (eds.), *Grafschaft Holstein-Schauenburg-Pinneberg: Findbuch der Bestandes Abt. 3* (Schleswig, 2002).

Bittner, L. and Gross, L., *Reportorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder, 1648–1715* (3 vols., Oldenburg/Berlin, 1936).

Black, George F., *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning and History* (Edinburgh, 2007, first published in 1946).

McCusker, J.J., *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775* (London, 1978).

Neue Deutsche Biographie (23 vols., Berlin, 1953–).

Hollweg, Walter, 'Ludwig Crocius', vol. 3, 418–419.

Kangro, Hans, 'Joachim Jungius', vol. 10, 686–689.

Lau, Franz, 'Nicolaus Hunnius', vol. 10, 68.

Mießner, Robert, 'Conrad Bergius', vol. 2, 84–85.

Schmidt, Martin, 'John Dury', vol. 4, 201–202.

Schnath, Georg, 'Georg Wilhelm', vol. 4, 208.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (online publication, Oxford, 2004–2009).

Carafano, James Jay, 'Donough Maccarthy (1668–1734)'.

Clarke, Tristram, 'John Paterson (1632–1708)'.

Greaves, Richard L., 'Sir John Cochrane (1662–1695)'.

——, 'Sir Thomas Armstrong'.

Harris, Tim, James Scott (Crofts), Duke of Monmouth and First Duke of Buccleugh (1649–1685)'.

Marshall, Alan, 'Sir William Waller (c. 1639–1699)'.

Murdoch, Steve, 'Robert Anstruther (1578/9–1644/5)'.

Sankey, Margaret D., 'David Melville, Third Earl of Leven and Second Earl of Melville (1660–1728)'.

Young, John R., 'George Melville, Fourth Lord Melville and First Earl of Melville (1636–1707)'.

Zook, Melinda, 'Robert Ferguson (d. 1714)'.

Zygmunt Brzezinski, Richard, James Spens of Wormiston (d. 1632)'.

Schulze, Heinz-Joachim (ed.), *Findbuch zum Bestand 32: Erskinesche Aktensammlung (Stader Reichsarchiv) (1431–1655)* (Göttingen, 1982).

Svenskt Biografiskt Lexicon (32 vols., Stockholm, 1918–).

Hedar, Sam., 'Georg Guthrie', vol. 17, 494–497.

Hildebrand, Bengt, 'Alexander Erskine', vol. 14, 462–476.

Wieden, Brage bei der and Lokers, Jan, *Lebensläufe zwischen Elbe und Weser: Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Stade, 2002).

Fiedler, Beate-Christine, 'Alexander von Erskine (Esken)', 96–99.

Printed Secondary Sources

- Anon., 'Dury, Calixtus and the Peacemakers', *Christian Remembrancer Quarterly Review*, vol. 29 (1855) (without page numbers).
- Baasch, Ernst, 'Zur Geschichte des hamburgischen Heringshandels', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. 12 (1906), 61–100.
- , *Die Islandfahrt der Deutschen, namentlich der Hamburger vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1889).
- , 'Hamburgs Seeschiffahrt und Waarenhandel vom Ende des 16. bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *ZVHG*, vol. 9 (1894), 295–420.
- Bachmann, Elfriede, 'Bremervörde und die Oste', in August Heinrich von Brook and Gisela Tiedemann (eds.), *Die Oste: Lebensader zwischen Elbe und Weser* (Bremerhaven, 2003), 41–62.
- Baumann, Wolf-Rüdiger, *The Merchant Adventurers and the Continental Cloth-trade (1560s–1620s)* (Berlin/New York, 1990).
- Beerbühl, Margrit Schulte, *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung (1660–1818)* (Düsseldorf, 2006).
- Bellamy, Martin, *Christian IV and His Navy: A Political and Administrative History of the Danish Navy 1596–1648* (Leiden/Boston, 2006).
- Beller, E.A., 'The Military Expedition of Sir Charles Morgan to Germany, 1627–9', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 43 (1928), 528–539.
- Benedict, Philip, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven/London, 2004).
- Berg, Jonas and Lagercrantz, Bo, *Scots in Sweden* (Stockholm, 1962).
- Beuleke, Wilhelm, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen* (Hildesheim, 1960).
- Biermann, Friedhelm, *Der Weserraum im hohen und späten Mittelalter: Adels Herrschaften zwischen weltlicher Hausmacht und geistlichen Territorien* (Bielefeld, 2007).
- Bippen, Wilhelm von, *Geschichte der Stadt Bremen* (Bremen, 1904).
- Blekstad, Milada, *Comenius: Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komensky* (Oslo, 1969).
- Böhme, Klaus-Richard, *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen* (Uppsala, 1967).
- Brand, Hanno (ed.), *The Dynamics of Economic Culture in the North Sea and Baltic Region in the late Middle and Early Modern Period* (Hilversum, 2007).
- Brandis, Felix Schütz von, *Übersicht der Geschichte der Hannoverschen Armee von 1617 bis 1866* (Hannover 1903).
- Braudel, Fernand, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (2 vols., Los Angeles/London, 1995; originally published in French in 1949).
- Brauer, Karl, *Die Unionstätigkeit John Duries unter dem Protektorat Cromwells: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Marburg, 1907).
- Brill, E.V.K., 'Whalsey and the Bremen Connection', *Shetland Life*, no. 17 (1982), 10–17.
- , 'More Bremen Connections with Shetland', *Shetland Life*, no. 30 (1983), 34–45.
- Brinkmann, C., 'England and the Hanse under Charles II', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 23/92 (1908), 683–708.
- Broady, Donald, 'Nätverk och Fält', in Hakan Gunnerison (ed.), *Sociala Nätverk och Fält* (Uppsala, 2002), 54–65.
- Brumshagen, Andree, *Das Bremer Stadtmilitär im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Eine Untersuchung zum Militärwesen der Stadt* (Bremen, 2010).
- Böhme, K.-R., *Bremisch-Verdische Staatsfinanzen 1645–1676* (Uppsala, 1967).
- Böse, Karl Georg, *Das Grossherzogtum Oldenburg: topographisch-statistische Beschreibung desselben* (Oldenburg, 1863).
- Brüning, Kurt, *Niedersachsen und Bremen* (Stuttgart, 1960).
- Burschel, Peter, *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1994).

- Busch, Michael, 'Die Landung der Schweden: Entlastung oder Bedrohung für Hamburg?', in Martin Knauer and Sven Tode (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren. Hamburg im Dreißigjährigen Krieg 1618–1648* (Hamburg, 2000), 127–143.
- Byrne, Thomas, 'Nathaniel Hooke (1664–1738) and the French Embassy to Saxony, 1711–12', in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds.), *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), 408–428.
- Catterall, Douglas, 'Scots along the Maas', c. 1570–1750', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), 169–190.
- , 'At Home Abroad: Ethnicity and Enclave in the World of Scots Traders in Northern Europe, c. 1600–1800', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 854 (2004), 319–357.
- , *Community without Borders. Scots Migrants and the changing Face of Power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2002).
- Clucas, Stephen, 'In Search of 'The True Logick': Methodological Eclecticism among the 'Baconian Reformers'', in Mark Greengrass et al. (eds.), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge, 2002), 57–74.
- Conerman, Klaus, *Die Mitglieder der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft 1617–1650* (Weinheim, 1985).
- Corp, Edward et al. (eds.), *A Court in Exile; The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718* (Cambridge, 2004).
- , 'The Jacobite Presence in Toulouse during the Eighteenth Century', *Genealogies Revees*, 5 (2004), 124–145.
- Coull, James R., *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: A Historical Geography* (Edinburgh, 1996).
- Cowan, Ian B., *The Scottish Covenanters 1660–88* (London, 1976).
- Dalhede, Christina, *Handelsfamiljer på Stormaktstidens Europamarknad*, (3 vols., Stockholm, 2001).
- Dannenbergh, Hans Eckhard and Schulze, Heinz-Joachim (eds.), *Geschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser*, (3 vols., Stade, 2003–2008).
- Danner, Fritz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stader Garnison* (Stade, 1987).
- Deecke, Klara and Gabel, Ingrid, 'Der Hartlib-Kreis im südlichen Ostseeraum', in Martin Krieger and Michael North (eds.), *Land und Meer. Kultureller Austausch zwischen Westeuropa und dem Ostseeraum in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln/Weimar, 2004), 221–252.
- Devine, T.M., 'The Modern Economy: Scotland and the Act of Union', in T.M. Devine, Clive Howard Lee, G.C. Peden (eds.), *The Transformation of Scotland: the Economy since 1700* (Edinburgh, 2005), 13–33.
- , 'The Golden Age of Tobacco', T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, *Glasgow* (Manchester/New York, 1995), vol. 1, 139–183.
- Dickson, David, 'Introduction', in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Gent, 2007), 1–4.
- Donaldson, Gordon, 'The Scots Settlement in Shetland', in Donald J. Withrington (ed.), *Shetland and the Outside World 1469–1969* (Oxford, 1983), 8–19.
- Dörfler, Wolfgang, *Herrschaft und Landesgrenze: Die langwährenden Bemühungen um die Grenzziehung zwischen den Stiften und späteren Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden* (Stade, 2004).
- Dotzauer, Winfried, *Die deutschen Reichskreise* (Stuttgart, 1998).
- Douglas, Archibald, *Robert Douglas: En Krigargestalt från vår Storhetstid* (Stockholm, 1957).
- Dowding, W.C., *The Life and Correspondence of George Calixtus: Lutheran Abbot of Königsutter, and Professor Primarius in the University of Helmstedt* (Oxford/London, 1863).
- Drewes, Kai, 'The Scottish Civil War Refugee Archibald Mercer and His Family' (online publication, www.kai-drewes.de/mercer-main).

- Droste, Heiko, 'Hamburg—ein Zentrum schwedischer Außenbeziehungen im 17. Jahrhundert', in Ivo Asmus, Heiko Droste and Jens E. Olesen (eds.), *Gemeinsame Bekannte: Schweden und Deutschland in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin/Hamburg/Münster, 2003), 65–82.
- , 'Johan Adler Salvius i Hamburg: Ett nätverksbygge i 1600-talets Sverige', in Kersten Abukhanfusa (ed.), *Mare Nostrum: Om Westfaliska freden och Östersjön som ett svenskt maktcentrum* (Västervik, 1999), 243–255.
- Dünzelmann, Anne E., *Vom Gaste, den Joden und den Fremden: Zur Ethnographie von Immigration, Rezeption und Exkludierung Fremder am Beispiel der Stadt Bremen vom Mittelalter bis 1848* (Berlin/Hamburg/Münster, 2001).
- Ehrenberg, Richard, *Hamburg und England im Zeitalter der Königin Elisabeth* (Jena, 1896).
- Eichberg, Henning, *Militär und Technik: Schwedenfestungen des 17. Jahrhunderts in den Herzogtümern Bremen und Verden* (Düsseldorf, 1976).
- Elmshäuser, Konrad, *Geschichte Bremens* (München, 2007).
- Enthoven, Victor, 'Thomas Cunningham (1604–1669): Conservator of the Scottish Court at Veere', in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Gent, 2007), 39–66.
- Eriksonas, Linas, 'The Lost Colony of Scots: Unravelling Overseas Connections in a Lithuanian Town', in Allan I. Macinnes, Thomas Riis and Frederik Pedersen (eds.), *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States, c. 1350–1700* (East Linton, 2000), 173–183.
- Febvre, Lucien, *Le Rhin: Problème d'histoire et d'économie* (Paris, 1935, co-written with Albert Demangeon).
- Fiedler, Beate-Christine, 'Bremen und Verden als schwedische Provinz (1633/45–1712)', in Hans-Eckhard Dannenberg und Heinz-Joachim Schulze (eds.), *Geschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser* (3 vols., Stade, 2008), vol. 3, 173–254.
- , 'Schwedisch oder Deutsch? Die Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden in der Schwedenzeit 1645–1712', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 67 (1995), 43–57.
- , *Die Verwaltung der Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden in der Schwedenzeit 1652–1712: Organisation und Wesen der Verwaltung* (Stade, 1987).
- Fischer, Thomas, *The Scots in Sweden* (Edinburgh, 1907).
- , *The Scots in Germany: Being a Contribution Towards the History of the Scot Abroad* (Edinburgh, 1902).
- Flick, Andreas, '"Der Celler Hof ist ganz verfranzt": Hugenotten und französische Katholiken am Hof und beim Militär Herzog Georg Wilhelms von Braunschweig-Lüneburg', *Hugenotten*, vol. 72/3 (2008), 87–120.
- , 'Hugenotten am Hof der "Prinzessin von Ahlden"', *Geschichtsblätter der Deutschen Hugenotten-Gesellschaft*, vol. 43 (2008), 123–146.
- , 'Hugenotten in Norddeutschland', in Evangelisch-Reformierte Gemeinde Braunschweig (ed.), *Öffentlich und Ungehindert: 300 Jahre Ev.-reformierte Gemeinde Braunschweig* (Braunschweig, 2004), 61–92.
- , 'Muss das "Lüneburger Hugenottenprivileg" neu bewertet werden?', *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, vol. 59/2 (1995), 53–57.
- , 'Der Ancien Dr.med. Robert Scott wurde 'zuweilen wegen seiner besonderen Frömmigkeit ... hinterrucks verspottet und verhöhnet', *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, vol. 56/4 (1992), 103–108.
- , 'Als zwölfjähriger Junge durfte Georg Ernest de Melvill König Karl II. von England die Hand küssen', *Der Deutsche Hugenott*, vol. 58/1 (1994), 17–23.
- Forte, A.D.M., Furgol, E.M. and Murdoch, Steve, 'The Burgh of Stade and the Maryland Court of Admiralty of 1672', *Forum Navale*, no. 60 (2004), 94–112.
- Foster, Walter Roland, *Bishop and Presbytery: The Church of Scotland 1661–1688* (London, 1958).

- Fraser, William, *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville and the Leslies Earls of Leven* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1890).
- Friedland, Klaus, 'Hanseatic Merchants and Their Trade With Shetland', in Donald J. Withrington (ed.), *Shetland and the Outside World 1469–1969* (Oxford, 1983), 86–95.
- Frost, Robert, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721* (Harlow, 2000).
- Fulton, Thomas Weymss, *The Sovereignty of the Sea: A Historical Account of the Claims of England to the Dominion of the British Seas* (Edinburgh/London, 1911).
- Gardner, Ginny, 'A Haven for Intrigue: the Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands 1660–1690', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), 277–301.
- , *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands 1660–1690* (East Linton, 2004).
- Glozier, Matthew, *Scottish Soldiers in France in the Reign of the Sun King* (Leiden, 2004).
- Göhler, Johannes, *Wege des Glaubens: Beiträge zu einer Kirchengeschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser* (Stade, 2006).
- Graham, Eric J., *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650–1790* (East Linton, 2002).
- Grant, Francis, *The County Families of the Zetland Islands* (Lerwick, 1893).
- Grant, James, *The Old Scots Navy from 1689 to 1710* (London, 1914).
- Greaves, Richard L., *Deliver Us from Evil. The Radical Underground in Britain 1660–1663* (Oxford, 1986).
- Grosjean, Alexia and Murdoch, Steve, 'Introduction', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), 1–24.
- , 'The Scottish Community in Seventeenth-Century Gothenburg', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), 191–223.
- Grosjean, Alexia, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden, 2003).
- , 'Royalist Soldiers and Cromwellian Allies? The Cranstoun Regiment in Sweden 1656–1658', in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550–1900* (Leiden, 2002), 61–82.
- , 'Scotland: Sweden's Closest Ally?', in Steve Murdoch (ed.), *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War 1618–1648* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne, 2001), 143–171.
- , 'A Century of Scottish Governorship in the Swedish Empire 1574–1700', in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (eds.), *Scottish Governors and Imperial Frontiers 1580–1850* (Edinburgh, 2000), 53–79.
- , 'General Alexander Leslie, the Scottish Covenanters and the Riksråd Debates, 1638–1640', in Allan I Macinnes, Thomas Riis and Frederik Pedersen., *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States, c. 1350–1700* (East Linton, 2000), 115–130.
- Gunnerison, Hakan (ed.), *Sociala Nätverk och Fält* (Uppsala, 2002).
- Gusfield, Joseph R., *Community. A Critical Response* (Oxford, 1975).
- Hancock, David, 'Combining Success and Failure: Scottish Networks in the Atlantic Wine Trade', in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Gent, 2007), 5–38.
- Hasselberg, Ylva, Müller, Leos and Stenlås, Niklas, *History from a Network Perspective* (Uppsala, 1997).
- Hatcher, John, *The History of the British Coal Industry*, (4 vols., Oxford, 1993).
- Havemann, Wilhelm, *Geschichte der Lande Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (2 vols., Göttingen, 1853).
- Henke, Ludwig, *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit* (Halle, 1860).
- Heuer, Horst, *Lüneburg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert und seine Eingliederung in den Fürstenstaat* (Hamburg, 1969).
- Heuvel, Gerd van den, 'Niedersachsen im 17. Jahrhundert (1618–1714)', in Christine van den Heuvel and Manfred Boetticher (eds.), *Geschichte Niedersachsens*, (Hanover, 1998), 141–152.

- Hill, Thomas, *Die Stadt und ihr Markt. Bremens Umlands- und Außenbeziehungen im Mittelalter (12.–15. Jahrhundert)* (Stuttgart, 2004).
- Hillebrand, Almut, *Danzig und die Kaufmannschaft großbritannischer Nation: Rahmenbedingungen, Formen und Medien eines englischen Kulturtransfers im Ostseeraum des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009).
- Hinrichson, G., 'Die Einnahme des Hauses Ritzebüttel durch den Administrator Christian Wilhelm v. Magdeburg 1626, *Jahresbericht der Männer vom Morgenstern*, vol. 11 (1908/09), 244–250.
- Hinz, Ulrich, 'Die Bevölkerung der Stadt Lüneburg im 18. Jahrhundert', *Lüneburger Blätter*, 15 (1965), 71–138.
- Hitzigraht, Heinrich, *Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Hamburg und England von 1611 bis 1660* (Hamburg, 1912).
- , *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Hamburg und England zur Zeit Jakobs I, Karls I und der Republik 1611–1660* (Hamburg, 1907).
- , *Die Kompanie der Merchant Adventurers und die englische Kirchengemeinde in Hamburg 1611–1835* (Hamburg, 1904).
- , 'Das englische Haus in der Gröningerstraße und der Boselhof an der englischen Planke', *Hamburgischer Correspondent*, 460 (1901), 1–3.
- Hohenberg, Paul M. and Hollen Lees, Lynn, *The Making of Urban Europe* (London, 1985).
- Insh, G.P., *The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies* (London, 1932).
- Israel, J.I., *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford, 1990).
- Joachim, Hermann, 'Die Erwerbung des Amtes Ritzebüttel durch Hamburg', *MVHG*, vol. 27 (1907), 353–382.
- Jobelmann, W.H. and Wittpenning, W., *Geschichte der Stadt Stade*, (Stade, 1897).
- Jørgensen, Johan, 'Denmark's Relations with Lübeck and Hamburg in the Seventeenth Century', *The Scandinavian Economic Review*, vol. 11/2 (1963), 73–116.
- Kausche, Dietrich, 'Harburg und der süderelbische Raum', in Erich von Lehe, Heinz Ramm and Dietrich Kausche (eds.), *Heimatchronik der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg* (Köln, 1967), 355–452.
- Kellenbenz, Hermann, *Sephardim an der Unteren Elbe: Ihre wirtschaftliche und politische Bedeutung vom Ende des 16. bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1958).
- , *Unternehmerkräfte im Hamburger Portugal- und Spanienhandel 1590–1625* (Hamburg, 1954).
- Klessmann, Eckart, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1981).
- Klingebiel, Thomas, *Die Hugenotten in den welfischen Landen: Eine Privilegiensammlung* (Bad Karlshafen, 1994).
- Köhn, G., *Die Bevölkerung der Gründungs-, Residenz-, Garnison- und Exulantenstadt Glückstadt von 1616–1652* (Hamburg, 1970).
- König, Rene, *The Community* (London, 1968).
- Kopitzsch, Franklin, 'Minderheiten und Fremde in nordwestdeutschen Städten in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, vol. 69 (1997), 45–59.
- Kowalski, Waldemar, 'Certificates of Legitimate Birth (Birth-Briefs) in the Practice of the City Councils of Aberdeen and Krakow at the close of the Sixteenth Century and during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century', in *Przgmaticke pisemnosti kontekstu pravim a spzavnim* (Prague, 2008), 187–201.
- , 'The Placement of Urbanised Scots in the Polish Crown during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2005), 53–103.
- Kownatzki, Hermann, *Elbing als ehemaliger englischer Handelsplatz* (Elbing, 1977).
- Krieger, Martin, *Geschichte Hamburgs* (München, 2006).
- Kroener, Bernhard R., '„Der Krieg hat ein Loch . . ." Überlegungen zum Schicksal demobilisierter Söldner nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Heinz Duchhardt (ed.), *Der Westfälische Friede: Diplomatie—politische Zäsur—kulturelles Umfeld—Rezeptionsgeschichte* (München, 1998), 599–632.

- Kroll, Stefan, *Stadtgesellschaft und Krieg: Sozialstruktur, Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft in Stralsund und Stade* (Stuttgart, 1997).
- Laine, David, *Biographical Notices of Thomas Young* (Edinburgh, 1870).
- Lane, Margery, 'Helgioland in 1689', *The English Historical Review*, vol. 30/120 (1915), 705–706.
- Lange, Ulrich (ed.), *Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins* (Neumünster, 2003).
- Lappenberg, J.M., 'Thomas Young. Cappellan der Court der Merchant Adventurers zu Hamburg', *ZVHG*, vol. 1 (1841), 309–312.
- Lauridsen, John T., *Marselis Konsortiet* (Århus, 1987).
- Lillehammer, A., 'The Scottish-Norwegian Timber Trade in the Stavanger Area in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in T.C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), 97–111.
- Lindberg, Erik, 'The Rise of Hamburg as a Global Marketplace in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative Political Economic Perspective', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 50/3 (2008), 641–662.
- Lingelbach, William E., 'The Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 9/2 (1904), 265–287.
- Löbe, Karl, *Seeschifffahrt in Bremen: Das Schiff gestaltete Hafen und Stadt* (Bremen, 1989).
- Lockhart, Paul Douglas, *Denmark 1513–1660: The Rise and Decline of a Renaissance Monarchy* (Oxford, 2007).
- , *Denmark and the Thirty Years' War 1614–1648: King Christian and the Decline of the Oldenburg State* (London, 1963).
- Löding, Frithjof, 'Die Gründung von Friedrichstadt und Glückstadt', in Antoni Maczak and Christopher Smout (eds.), *Gründung und Bedeutung kleinerer Städte im nördlichen Europa der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 175–180.
- Lohmeier, Dieter, *Kleiner Staat ganz groß: Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf* (Heide, 1997).
- Lokers, Jan, Behne, Axel and Hempel, Dirk, 'Das Elbe-Weser Dreieck im 18. Jahrhundert (1712/15–1803)', in Hans Eckhard Dannenberg and Heinz-Joachim Schulze (eds.), *Geschichte des Landes zwischen Elbe und Weser* (3 vols., Stade, 2008), vol. 3, 293–412.
- Loose, Hans-Dieter, 'Das Zeitalter der Bürgerunruhen und der großen europäischen Kriege 1618–1712', in Hans-Dieter Loose (ed.), *Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner* (2 vols., Hamburg, 1982), vol. 1, 259–348.
- , *Hamburg und Christian IV. von Dänemark während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Reichsunmittelbarkeit* (Hamburg, 1963).
- Lorenzen-Schmidt, Klaus-Joachim, 'Verbindendes und Trennendes: Einige Gedanken zur historischen Funktion der Unterelbe als Grenze', in Martin Rheinheimer (ed.), *Grenzen in der Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins und Dänemarks* (Neumünster, 2006), 295–306.
- Lynch, Michael and Ditchburn, David, 'Scottish Trade in the Seventeenth Century', in Peter G.B. McNeill and Hector L. MacQueen (eds.), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), 266–283.
- Lythe, S.G.E., 'Early Modern Trade, c. 1550 to 1707', in S.G.E. Lythe and Gordon Jackson (eds.), *The Port of Montrose* (Tayport, 1993), 87–101.
- and J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland, 1100–1939* (Glasgow/London, 1975).
- , *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, 1550–1625* (Edinburgh/London, 1960).
- Macfarlane, A., *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge, 1977).
- Macinnes, Allan I., *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007).
- , *The British Revolution, 1629–1660* (Basingstoke, 2004).
- Maclean, J.N.M., 'Montrose's preparations for the invasion of Scotland, and Royalist mission to Sweden, 1649–1651', in R. Hutton and M. Anderson (eds.), *Studies of Diplomatic History* (London, 1970).
- Mammen, Timo, 'Schifffahrt auf der Weser in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 70 (1998), 73–92.

- Mandelbrote, Scott, 'John Dury and the Practice of Irenicism', in Nigel Aston (ed.), *Religious Change in Europe 1650–1914* (Oxford, 1997), 41–58.
- Matthaei, Georg, 'Die Lage der Lüneburger Elbschiffahrt im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Lüneburger Blätter*, 6 (1955), 70–79.
- McCarthy, Angela, 'Introduction: Personal Testimonies and Scottish Migration', in Angela McCarthy (ed.), *A Global Clan. Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century* (London/ New York, 2006), 1–18.
- Michell, A.R., 'The European Fisheries in Early Modern History', in E.E. Rich (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, V (London/New York/Melbourne, 1977), 133–185.
- Mijers, Esther, 'Scottish Students in the Netherlands 1680–1730', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/ Boston, 2005), 301–333.
- Mogk, Walter, 'Zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Reformierten in Lüneburg vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 55 (1983), 380–394.
- Möring, Maria, 'Die englische Kirche in Hamburg und die Merchant Adventurers', *Hamburgische Geschichts- und Heimatblätter*, (1963), 91–112.
- Müller, Leos, *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm c. 1640–1800: A Comparative Study of Early-Modern Entrepreneurial Behaviour* (Uppsala, 1998).
- Murdoch, Steve, *The Terror of the Seas? Scottish Maritime Warfare, 1513–1713* (Leiden/ Boston, 2010).
- , 'Community and Commerce: The Stockholm-Scots in the Seventeenth Century', in D. Worthington (ed.), *Emigrants and Exiles from the Three Kingdoms in Europe, 1603–1688* (Leiden, 2009), 31–66.
- , 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai (Kiejdany) in its Scandinavian and Baltic Context' in *Almanach Historyczny* (2007), 48–61.
- , 'Fabricating Nobility? Genealogy and Social Mobility among Franco-Scottish Families in the Early Modern Period', *Culture Savante, Culture Populaire en Écosse*, vol. 40 (2007), 37–51.
- , 'Scotland, Europe and the English 'Missing Link'', *History Compass*, vol. 5/3 (2007), 890–913.
- , 'The French Connection: Bordeaux's "Scottish" Networks in Context, c. 1670–1720', in Gilles Leydier (ed.), *Scotland and Europe, Scotland in Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), 26–55.
- and Kathrin Zickermann, 'Major-General Patrick More of Buxtehude: A Scottish Officer in "Swedish Bremen"', *Newsletter: Friends of Perth & Kinross Council Archives*, no. 21 (2007).
- , *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe 1603–1746* (Leiden/Boston, 2006).
- , 'Kith and Kin: John Durie and the Scottish Community in Scandinavia and the Baltic, 1624–34', in Patrick Salmon and Tony Barrow (eds.), *Britain and the Baltic. Studies in Commercial, Political and Cultural Relations 1500–2000* (Sunderland, 2003), 21–46.
- , 'Scotsmen on the Danish-Norwegian Frontiers c. 1580–1680', in Andrew Mackillop and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800: A Study of Scotland and Empires*, (Leiden, 2003), 1–28.
- , 'James VI and the Formation of a Scottish-British Military Identity' in Steve Murdoch and Andrew Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience c. 1550–1900* (Leiden, 2002), 3–31.
- , *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart 1603–1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton, 2003, first published in 2000).
- , 'Diplomacy in Transition: Stuart-British Diplomacy in Northern Europe, 1603–1618', in A.I. Macinnes, T. Riis and F.G. Pedersen (eds.), *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c. 1350–1700* (East Linton, 2000), 93–114.
- Newman, Karin, 'Hamburg in the European Economy, 1660–1750', *The Journal of European Economic History*, vol. 14/1 (1985), 57–93.

- Nistahl, Matthias, 'Die Reichsexekution gegen Schweden in Bremen-Verden', in Heinz-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität: Beiträge zur Geschichte der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden und des Landes Hadeln* (Stade, 1989), 97–106.
- Notbohm, Hartwig, *Geschichte der Französisch-reformierten Gemeinde—Hugenotten—in Lüneburg 1684–1839* (Lüneburg, 2001).
- O'Connor, Thomas and Lyons, Mary Ann, 'Introduction', in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds.), *Irish Communities in Early-Modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), 1–5.
- , Sogner, Solvi and Voss, Lex Heerma van, 'Scottish Communities Abroad: Some Concluding Remarks', in Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), 375–393.
- Opsahl, Erik and Sogner, Sølvi, *Norsk Invandringshistorie* (Oslo, 2003).
- Pauli, Ulf, *Det Svenska Tyskland: Sveriges tyska besittningar 1648–1815* (Stockholm, 1989).
- Pedersen, Nina Østby, 'Scottish Immigration to Bergen in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), 135–169.
- Pelc, Ortwin, 'Vor den Toren: Die Grenze zwischen Stadt und Land in Schleswig-Holstein vom 12. bis 19. Jahrhundert', in Martin Rheinheimer (ed.), *Grenzen in der Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins und Dänemarks* (Neumünster, 2006), 185–209.
- Pléiss, Detlev, 'Das Kriegsfahrtenbuch des schwedischen Offiziers William Forbes. Von seiner Landung und der Unterelbe im Sommer 1634 bis zu seiner Rückkehr nach Stade im Winter 1649/50', *Stader Jahrbuch*, vol. 85 (1995), 133–153.
- Postel, Rainer, *Versammlung eines ehrbaren Kaufmanns: Kaufmännische Selbstverwaltung in Geschichte und Gegenwart (1517–1992)* (Hamburg, 1992).
- Prange, Ruth, *Die bremische Kaufmannschaft des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Bremen, 1963).
- Prebble, John, *The Darien Disaster* (Pimlico, 2002, first published in 1968).
- Rae, Thomas H.H., *John Dury and the Royal Road to Piety* (Frankfurt/Main, 1998).
- Ramm, Heinz, 'Altona, Wandsbek und die südholsteinischen Randgebiete', in Erich Lehe, Heinz Ramm and Dietrich Kausche (eds.), *Heimatchronik der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg* (Köln, 1967), 263–351.
- Rathjen, Jörg, *Soldaten im Dorf: Ländliche Gesellschaft und Kriege in den Herzogtümern Schleswig und Holstein 1625–1720: eine Fallstudie anhand der Ämter Reinbek und Trittau* (Kiel, 2004).
- , 'Die geteilte Einheit: Schleswig-Holstein zwischen König und Herzog 1490–1721', in Jan Markus Witt and Heiko Vosgerau (eds.), *Schleswig-Holstein von den Ursprüngen bis zur Gegenwart: Eine Landesgeschichte* (Hamburg, 2002), 190–211.
- Reincke, Heinrich, 'Hamburgische Territorialpolitik', *ZVHG*, vol. 38 (1939), 28–116.
- Reinecke, Wilhelm, *Geschichte der Stadt Lüneburg* (2 vols., Lüneburg, 1933).
- Reinhard, Wolfgang, *Freunde und Kreaturen. 'Verflechtung' als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen* (München, 1979).
- Reinhardt, Uta, 'Die Wirtschaftskrise des 16. Jahrhunderts und die Aufrechterhaltung der Autonomie Lüneburgs bis zum 30-jährigen Krieg', in Jürgen Bohmbach (ed.), *Fernhandel und Stadtentwicklung im Nord- und Ostseeraum in der hansischen Spätzeit (1550–1630)* (Stade, 1995), 86–105.
- Reißmann, Martin, *Die hamburgische Kaufmannschaft des 17. Jahrhunderts in sozialgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Hamburg, 1975).
- Reumann, Klauspeter, 'Kirchenregiment und Großmachtpolitik: Das Eingreifen Christians IV. von Holstein und König von Dänemark in den Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Bernd Hey (ed.), *Der Westfälische Frieden 1648 und der deutsche Protestantismus*, (Bielefeld, 1998), 41–63.
- Rheinheimer, Martin (ed.), *Grenzen in der Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins und Dänemarks* (Neumünster, 2006).

- Riis, Thomas, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot... Scottish-Danish Relations c. 1450–1707* (2 vols., Odense, 1988).
- Rommelse, Gijis, *The Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667): Raison d'État, Mercantilism and Maritime Strife* (Hilversum, 2006).
- Rössner, Philipp Robinson, *Scottish Trade in the Wake of Union (1700–1760): The Rise of a Warehouse Economy* (Stuttgart, 2008).
- , *Scottish Trade with German Ports: A Sketch of the North Sea Trades and the Atlantic Economy on Ground Level* (Stuttgart, 2008).
- Scott, David, 'The Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1642–1649', in Barry Coward (ed.), *A Companion to Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 2003).
- Schäfer, Rolf (ed.), *Oldenburgische Kirchengeschichte* (Oldenburg, 1999).
- Schei, Liv Kjorsvik, *The Shetland Story* (London, 1988).
- Schmidt, Heinrich, 'Landschaft und regionale Identität: Zur Bedeutung und historischen Entwicklung des Verhältnisses von Landschaften und regionaler Kulturpflege im nördlichen Niedersachsen', in Heinz-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität: Beiträge zur Geschichte der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden und des Landes Hadeln* (Stade, 1989), 8–22.
- , 'Grundzüge der Territorialgeschichte des Regierungsbezirks Lüneburg', in Carl Haase (ed.), *Niedersachsen: Territorien—Verwaltungseinheiten—geschichtliche Landschaften* (Göttingen, 1971), 224–247.
- Schöller, Peter (ed.), Lucien Febvre, *Der Rhein und seine Geschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994; originally published in French in 1935).
- Schröder, Stephan Michael, 'Hamburg und Schweden im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Vom potentiellen Bündnispartner zum Zentrum der Kriegsfinanzierung', *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vol. 76 (1989), 305–331.
- Schukys, Sven, 'Die Einwirkungen des Dreißigjährigen Krieges auf den Fernhandel Hamburgs', in Martin Knauer and Sven Tode (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren: Hamburg im Dreißigjährigen Krieg 1618–1648* (Hamburg, 2000), 213–241.
- Schulte Beerbühl, Margrit, *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung (1660–1818)* (Düsseldorf, 2006).
- Schulze, Heinz-Joachim (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität: Beiträge der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden und des Landes Hadeln* (Stade, 1989).
- , 'Der Regierungsbezirk Stade: Verwaltungsbezirk und historische Landschaftsbildung', in Carl Haase (ed.), *Niedersachsen: Territorien—Verwaltungseinheiten—geschichtliche Landschaften* (Göttingen, 1971), 201–223.
- Schwarz, Klaus, *Kompanien, Kirchspiele und Konvent in Bremen 1605–1814* (Bremen, 1969).
- Schwarzwälder, Herbert, *Bremen im 17. Jahrhundert: Glanz und Elend einer alten Hansestadt* (Bremen, 1996).
- , 'Inventare des 17. Jahrhunderts für Rotenburg, Ottersberg und Zeven als Quellen für die Bau-, Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte', in Heinz-Joachim Schulze (ed.), *Landschaft und regionale Identität: Beiträge zur Geschichte der ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden und des Landes Hadeln* (Stade, 1989), 132–160.
- , *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen* (4 vols., Hamburg, 1985).
- Schwebel, Kurt, *Salz im Alten Bremen* (Bremen, 1988).
- Seling-Biehusen, Petra, *Kaffee-Handel und Kaffee-Genuss in der Stadt Bremen im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Bremen, 2001).
- Selzer, Stephan and Ewert, Ulf Christian, 'Verhandeln und Verkaufen, Vernetzen und Vertrauen: Über die Netzwerkstruktur des Hansischen Handels', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. 119 (2001), 135–161.
- Shaw, Frances J., *The Northern and Western Isles of Scotland: Their Economy and Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1980).
- Shields, Michael, *Faithful Contendings Displayed* (Glasgow, 1780).
- Siebenecker, Arnulf, 'Lüneburger Privileg', in Sabine Beneke and Hans Ottomeyer (eds.), *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland: Die Hugenotten* (Berlin, 2005), 252–253.

- Sikora, Michaela, 'Éléonore D'Olbreuse: Die Herzogin auf Raten', in *Mächtig verlockend: Frauen der Welfen: Begleitband zur Ausstellung des Residenzmuseums im Celler Schloß vom 16. Februar bis 15. August 2010* (Celle, 2010), 16–43.
- Simms, J.G., *Jacobite Ireland, 1685–91* (London, 1969).
- Smith, Brian, "Lairds" and "Improvement in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Shetland", in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Lairds and Improvement in the Scotland of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1978), 3–23.
- Smith, Hance D., *Shetland Life and Trade* (Edinburgh, 1984).
- Smout, T.C., *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union 1660–1707* (Edinburgh/London, 1963).
- , 'An Old Scheme for Shetland: Opposition to the Hansa', *Shetland News*, 11 November 1958.
- Sprunger, Keith L., *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982).
- Stevenson, David, 'Introduction: The Life of Sir Robert Moray', in David Stevenson (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Kincardine, 1657–73* (Ashgate, 2007), 1–60.
- Stieglitz, Anette von, *Landesherr und Stände zwischen Konfrontation und Kooperation: Die Innenpolitik Herzog Johann Friedrichs im Fürstentum Calenberg 1665–1679* (Hannover, 1994).
- Stölting, Erhard, 'Die soziale Definition historischer Räume und Grenzen', in Dieter Holtmann and Peter Riemer (eds.), *Europa: Einheit und Vielfalt* (Münster/Hamburg/London, 2001), 153–170.
- Struck, Bernhard, 'Historical Regions between Construction and Perception: Viewing France and Poland in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries', *East Central Europe*, vol. 32 (2005), 79–97.
- Szechi, Daniel, 1715: *The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (Yale, 2006).
- , *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe 1688–1788* (Manchester/New York, 1994).
- Talbott, Siobhan, 'Jacobites, Anti-Jacobites and the Ambivalent: Scottish Identities in France, 1680–1720' in B. Sellin, A. Thiec and P. Carboni (eds.), *Écosse: l'identité nationale en question* (Nantes, 2009), 73–87.
- Taylor, A. and H., *The House of Forbes* (Bruceton Mills, 1987).
- Thomson, William P.L., *History of Orkney* (Edinburgh, 1987).
- Tiedemann, Claus, *Die Schifffahrt des Herzogtums Bremen zur Schwedenzeit (1645–1712)* (Stade, 1970).
- Tode, Sven, 'Der Krieg vor den Toren: Das Hamburger Umland im Dreißigjährigen Krieg', in Martin Knauer und Sven Tode (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren: Hamburg im Dreißigjährigen Krieg 1618–1648* (Hamburg, 2000), 146–180.
- Tollin, Henri, 'Die hugenottischen Pastoren von Lüneburg', *Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins*, vol. 7/5 (1899), 3–32.
- , 'Geschichte der hugenottischen Gemeinde von Celle', *Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins*, vol. 2/7 (1893), 3–54.
- Tønnesen, Allan, *Helsingørs udenlandske borgere og indbyggere ca. 1550–1600* (Ringe, 1985).
- Unger, Richard W., 'Dutch Herring, Technology, and International Trade in the Seventeenth Century', *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 40/2 (1980), 253–280.
- Veeck, Otto, *Geschichte der Reformierten Kirche Bremens* (Bremen, 1909).
- Voigt, F., 'Der Städte Lübeck und Hamburg ehemalige Zoll- und Fährstelle bei Esslingen an der Elbe', *MVHG*, vol. 4 (1887–9), 218–240.
- Voss, Lex Heerma (ed.), *The North Sea and Culture (1550–1800)* (Hilversum, 1996).
- Watt, Douglas, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh, 2007).
- Weidinger, Ulrich, 'Strukturprobleme und Zäsuren in der Hafenentwicklung Bremens', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, vol. 70 (1998), 39–52.
- Whaley, Joachim, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg 1529–1819* (Cambridge/London/New York, 1985).

- Whately, Christopher A., *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006).
- , *Scottish Society 1707–1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (Manchester, 2000).
- , *The Scottish Salt Industry 1570–1850: An Economic and Social History* (Aberdeen, 1987).
- Wills, Rebecca, *The Jacobites and Russia 1715–1750* (East Linton, 2002).
- Withrington, Donald J. (ed.), *Shetland and the Outside World 1469–1969* (Oxford, 1983).
- Witt, Jan Markus and Vosgerau, Heiko (eds.), *Schleswig—Holstein von den Ursprüngen bis zur Gegenwart: Eine Landesgeschichte* (Hamburg, 2002).
- Witzendorff, Hans Jürgen von, 'Bremens Handel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Bremisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 44 (1955), 128–174.
- Wohltmann, Hans, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Stade an der Niederelbe* (Stade, 1956).
- Worthington, David, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c. 1560–1688* (Farnham, 2012).
- , *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden, 2004).
- Young, Peter, *Marston Moor 1644: The Campaign and the Battle* (Kineton, 1970).
- Youngson, A.J., 'Alexander Bruce, Second Earl of Kincardine (1629–1681), *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 15 (1960), 251–258.
- Zickermann, Kathrin, '“Briteannia ist mein Patria”: Scotsmen and the “British Community” in Hamburg', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), 249–273.
- , 'English and Scottish Exiles in Northwest Germany c. 1683–1709', *Études Écossaises*, vol. 13 (2010), 41–58.
- Zirgulis, Rimantas, 'The Scottish Community in Kedainiai', in Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.) *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden/Boston, 2005), 225–248.
- Zunckel, Julia, *Rüstungsgeschäfte im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Unternehmerkräfte, Militärgüter und Marktstrategien im Handel zwischen Genua, Amsterdam und Hamburg* (Berlin, 1997).

INDEX

- Adolf, duke of Holstein-Gottorp, 18
 Ahrens, Isaac, 218
 Albeville, Marquis d', 228
 Aldenburg, Anton von, 59
 Aldersee, Mr., 190
 Allen, Thomas, 117
 Aller River, 1,17,32,54, 60
 Alsace war (1674–1675), 176
 Alster River, 17, 43
 Alting, Henrik, 193
 Altona, 10, 15, 24, 79, 137, 172
 Danish control of, 43, 45–46
 Amsterdam, 54, 108, 119, 120, 215, 217
 Andrew, Alexander, 102
 Anglicanism, 23, 186, 186n.4, 188
 Anglo-Dutch conflicts, 46–49, 57, 59–60,
 99, 106, 108
 Anglo-Scottish cooperation, 21, 80, 186,
 239–41
 Anglo-Scottish Union 12, 92, 92n.91, 93, 95,
 101–2, 135
 Anne, Queen, 227
 Annes, Jochen, 118
 Anstruther, Robert, Stuart diplomat,
 27–28, 33–34, 37–38, 136–41, 145, 190,
 193
 Appleyard, Thomas, 41n.169
 Arbuthnott, Alexander, 102
 Argyll, Earl of, 209
 Argyll Rebellion (1685), 222, 223, 225
 Arkleman, Mr., 100
 Armstrong, Thomas, 203, 209
 Army of the Weser, 240
 Arsten, 157
 Artisans, Scottish, 129–31(*table*)
 Ascham, Anthony, 152
 Aston, Colonel, 143
 Atwood, Wilhelm, 116
 Augsburg, 24
 August, Duke, 196
 Averie, Joseph, 87, 135, 138–46, 189, 190,
 200, 221, 240

 Backhausen, Hans, 98
 Bädiken, Elia, 113, 121
 Baillie, George, 225
 Baillie, James, 225
 Baird, Alexander, 122, 125

 Baltic Sea, 3, 16, 28
 Banks, John, 98
 Banner, Johan, 42n.169
 Barclay, David, 103, 208
 Barclay, Robert, 103, 237
 Barclay, William, 159–60, 166
 Bardewisch, Hermann, 93, 95n.109
 Barnes, John, 100
 Bart, Joris, 115
 Beck, Hermann, 171
 Beck, John, 98, 99, 119, 237
 Bederska district, 52, 56, 57
 Berenberg, Paul, 216, 218, 219
 Bergedorf district, 18
 Bergen, 54
 herring trade and, 96, 101
 Scottish community in, 77–78
 Bergius, Conrad, 192, 198
 Biermann, Friedhelm, 4
 Bishop War (1639–1641), 146, 195
 Blekinge, 45
 Blockland district, 52
 Bludworth, Bartholomew, 102
 Blumenthal district, 52
 Bogle, James, 120–21
 Bogle, William, 120
 Bohuslän, 45
 Bois, Vincent du, 219
 Boitzenburg, 33
 Bonar, William, 155, 156, 165, 167, 179
 Bo'ness, Scotland, 8, 99, 105n.175, 106
 Bordeaux, France, 123
 Bossow, Johan Otto, 93, 94
 Bothwell Bridge uprising, 222
 Boy salt, 104, 105
 Boyton, Francis, 98
 Bradshaw, Richard, 116, 150–52, 153
 Brand, Hanno, 4
 Brandenburg, 49
 Brandenburg, Elector of, 59, 175
 Brandt, Johann, 80
 Braudel, Fernand, 4
 Breda, Treaty of (1667), 203
 Bremen (city), 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 15, 41, 45, 51–60,
 62–63(*map*), 66–67(*map*), 137, 238. *See*
 also Bremen duchy
 citizens' rights, 53, 117, 204, 205
 conflict with Oldenburg, 57–58

- conflict with Sweden, 56–57, 58, 165, 167, 182
 J. Durie's church reconciliation work in, 191–93, 204
 Dutch migrants into, 52–54
 environmental factors affecting, 54–55
 fish trade with Scotland and Shetland Islands, 84–103
 Frederick and, 31, 56
 guilds, 204, 205–6
 independent city status, 52, 56
 Jacobites in, 230–31
 Merchant Adventurers' trade with, 23–24
 Royalist/Covenanter tensions affecting, 153
 salt trade with Scotland, 82, 104–11
 Scottish commercial networks in, 114–26, 127, 128
 Scottish migrants in, 79–82
 senate, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 81, 157–59, 193, 205, 207
 Thirty Years War and, 55–56
 trade relations, 12, 53–55, 57–58
 W. Waller in, 202–9
 Bremen archbishopric, 18, 29, 44
 Bremen duchy, 1, 2, 10, 11, 15, 45, 49, 51, 56
 See also Bremen (city)
 Scottish administration of Swedish-controlled, 156–65, 181–82
 Bremen *Stift*, 2, 4, 31, 40, 42, 54, 55, 56
 Bremervörde, 16, 164
 Bressay Sound, 84
 “British,” concept of, 6, 143–44, 239–40
 British exiles and dissidents in Northwest Germany, 199, 201, 202–9, 221–25, 233–34
 Broadbent, Sarah, 89
 Brown, James, 106, 218
 Bruce, Alexander, 105, 105n.174, 106, 108, 115, 128, 155, 156
 Bruce, Andrew, 89, 94
 Bruce, Edward, Earl of Kincardine, 104, 105, 105n.174, 106, 107, 111
 Bruce, James, 90, 125
 Bruce, William, 90, 107
 Brunshausen, 169
 Brunswick and Hildesheim resolutions, 196–97, 199
 Brunswick-Lüneburg, 19, 49, 74–75(*map*)
 See also Lüneburg
 Scottish in military service to, 173, 174–80, 183–84
 Brunswick-Lüneburg duchy, 2, 10, 11, 15, 19, 54, 171, 173
 Bulstrode, Richard, 206–7
 Buscherus, Statius, 198
 Büsing, Jasper, 85
 Butjadingen district, 52, 55
 Buxtehude, 1, 5, 16
 P. More as governor of, 165–67, 172, 182
 Calenberg duchy, 174
 Calixtus, Georg, 196, 197, 198
 Calvinists, 15, 24, 52, 185, 200, 201. *See also* Huguenots, French; Scottish Calvinists; Scottish Reformed Church community
 Cambridge, Nathaniel, 102, 154, 171, 181
 Camerarius, Ludwig, 31
 Campbell, James, 121, 127
 Carleton, Dudley, 139
 Carlsburg, 58
 Carnegie, John, 230, 231, 232
 Casaucau, Joseph de, 221
 Cashel, Archbishop, 199
 Catholics, 43, 201
 English, 23
 Catterall, David, 2, 6, 14, 77, 188
 Ceaulier, Daniel, 177
 Celle, Brunswick-Lüneburg, 174, 175, 176, 177, 185, 211, 215, 223
 Chamberlain, John, 41n.169
 Charles I, Stuart monarch, 32, 136, 139, 140, 146, 148, 149, 151, 195
 Charles II, Stuart monarch, 50, 58, 59–60, 87, 97, 142, 152, 160, 161, 163, 167, 175, 176, 206, 207, 233
 Charles X Gustav, Swedish monarch, 153–54, 167, 168
 Charles XI, Swedish monarch, 58
 Child labour, 216, 217, 225
 Christian II (1513–1523), Danish-Norwegian monarch, 77
 Christian IV (1588–1648), Danish-Norwegian monarch, 84
 attempts of, to control Elbe River, 28–33, 37–45, 55, 61
 J. Durie's church reconciliation work and, 194–95, 200
 Stuart diplomats and 136, 140, 141, 148
 Christian V, Danish-Norwegian monarch
 attack on Hamburg, 50
 conflict with Sweden, 49–50, 59
 Christian-Albrecht, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, 48–49, 59
 Christian Ludwig, duke, 174

- Christian Ulrich, Danish prince, 42
 Christina, Swedish monarch (1632–1654),
 160, 162, 163, 168, 172
 Citizen rights
 Bremen, 53, 117, 204, 205
 Hamburg, 20, 20n.27
 Lüneburg, 210, 215n.161
 Clancarty, Earl of, 229
 Clarden, 88, 89
 Clark, George, 109–10
 Clephan, Colonel, 230
 Clerck, Jacob, 217
 Clerk, John, 98
 Clyde, Scotland, herring trade from, 95, 100
 Coal, Scottish exports of, 111–14
 Coch, Paul, 107
 Cochrane, John, 147–50, 151, 152, 187, 221–23
 Cockburne, James, 107
 Codfish. *See* Whitefish, Scottish exports of
 Coke, John, 141, 143
 Colclough, William, 119–20
 Cölln, Johan von, 214
 Colmus, Henry, 98
 Cologne, Elector of, 175
 Commercial networks. *See* Scottish
 commercial and trade networks
 Company of Scotland, 124, 127
 Coopman, Georg, 113
 Copenhagen, Treaty of (1692), 50
 Coup, Peter, 88
 Courtenay, Richard de, 221
 Covenanters, Scottish, 112, 146–56, 189
 Covenanting Revolution, 87
 Cowan, John, 123
 Coyet, Peter Julius, 154
 Craig, John, 108
 Craigie, James, 103
 Cranstoun, William, 154, 155
 Cranstoun, Scottish regiment, 169
 Crawford, Daniel, 116
 Crawford, Henry, 230
 Crawford, John, 116
 Cresset, James, 124, 176
 Crispe, Henry, 149
 Crocius, Ludwig, 192, 193, 198
 Croissy, Comte, 232
 Cromwell, Oliver and Cromwellians, 57,
 115, 153, 154
 Cromwellian Usurpation, 115
 Culross, Scotland, 105, 105n.175, 106n.181
 Cunningham, Robert, 125, 155
 Cunningsby, Francis, 32
 Curriehill, Scotland, 117n.254
 Danke, Otto, 123
 Danzig, 54, 85
 Darien, Scottish colony of, 125
 Davidson, John, 98
 Davidson, William, 117n.254, 128
 Delbow, Jacob, 98
 Delmenhorst, 59
 Denmark-Norway, 2, 17, 28
 British diplomats to, 136
 Christian IV as ruler of, 28–45
 Privy Council of, 194
 Scottish military in service to, 169, 173
 wars with Sweden, 44, 45, 49–50
 Detjen, Frederick, 85, 88
 Detjen, Heinrich, 99
 Detjen, Helmke, 99
 Detjen, Hermann, 85, 99, 114
 Dick, Andrew, 88
 Dick, Mr., 209
 Dick, William, 87, 94
 Diploma of Linz (1646), 56
 Dithmarschen, 33
 Dohna, Count of, 170
 D'Olbreuse, Éléonore Desmier, 174, 176, 179
 Dörfler, Wolfgang, 2
 Douglas, Archibald, 32
 Douglas, George, 143–44, 172
 Douglas, Robert, 113, 159, 160, 161, 162–63,
 166, 241
 Douglas, William, 220
 Drummond, David, 143
 Drummond, John, 183
 Du Burgh, John, 93
 Dunbar, Robert, 125–26, 237
 Dunbar, William, 120, 120n.277, 126
 Durie, John, 80, 186–87, 204, 240
 attempts by, to unite Protestant
 religions, 189–201, 233
 Dutch merchants, herring trade and,
 95–97, 98, 101
 Dutch migrants into Bremen, 52–54
 Dutch Republic, 2, 47, 186. *See also*
 Netherlands; United Provinces
 conflicts with England, 46–49, 57,
 59–60, 99, 106, 108
 conflicts with France, 99, 101, 123, 172
 conflicts with Spain, 20, 21, 25, 26
 trade relations, 54
 Ebling, 187
 Eckhoff, Johann, 48
 Edict of Nantes (1685), 211
 Edict of Potsdam (1685), 211, 212

- Edward, John, 224
- Elbe River, 1, 3, 5. *See also* Wider
 Elbe-Weser region
 Hamburg and, 17–25, 46–47 (*see also*
 Hamburg (city))
 overview of lower, 16–25, 72–73(*map*)
 political control of lower, 25–51
 toll on, 140, 141
 tributaries of lower, 16–17
- Elbe-Weser Triangle, 11
- Elborough, Jeremiah, 187, 188, 189
- Elizabeth, Stuart princess, 137
- Elizabeth of Bohemia, 176, 223
- Elking, Johan Martens, 110
- Elsfleth, 55
- Emden, 21
- Ems River, 21
- England
 coal, 112
 conflicts between Dutch and, 46–49, 57,
 59–60, 99, 106, 108
 salt, 110
 union with Scotland, 12, 92, 92n.91, 92,
 95, 101–2, 135
- English, Mungo, 121
- English merchants in Hamburg, 21–24,
 26–27. *See also* Merchant Adventurers
- English Navigation Acts (1651, 1660, 1663),
 46, 47, 58, 93, 94, 110
- English Puritans, 53
- English Reformed Church, 186
- English relations with Scots. *See* Anglo-
 Scottish cooperation
- English troops, 32–37, 41–42
- Episcopal Church, 186n.6, 188
- Ernst August, Duke of Hanover, 174, 212
- Erskine, Alexander von, 156–61, 166, 168,
 169, 181, 182, 240–41
- Erskine, Archibald, 169
- Erskine, Carl Gustav, 182
- Erskine, John, 124, 231–32
- Erskine, Thomas, 180, 219
- Este River, 16
- Excise duties
 British, 87–88
 Bremen, on salt, 104n.170
- Factories, textile
 R. Hog and A.Pau's, in Lüneburg, 215–21,
 238
 W. Waller and establishment of, 204,
 210, 225
- Faroe Islands, 84
- Febvre, Lucien, 4
- Fehrbellin, battle of (1675), 49
- Ferguson, Robert, 209
- Fiedler, Beate-Christine, 235
- Flanders, 23
- Fleetwood, George, 215n.164
- Flick, Andreas, 177, 211, 212, 214, 235
- Forbes, Alexander, 144, 163, 168
- Forbes, Charles, 230, 232
- Forbes, Duncan, 98
- Forbes, Lieutenant-Colonel, 207
- Forbes, Peter, 145
- Forbes, William, 161–64, 161n.169, 167, 182
- Forth, Scotland, 117
 herring trade and, 95
- Fortière, Etienne de Maxuel de la, 177
- France
 conflicts with Dutch, 99, 101, 123, 172
 Nine Years' War, 50–51, 101
 privateers, 50, 60, 90, 93, 101
 salt produced in, 104, 105
 trade with, 51
- Frederick, Duke of Guelph, 197
- Frederick V, 31, 136, 137
- Frederik, Danish prince, 31, 39–40, 56, 193,
 195
- Frederik III, Danish-Norwegian monarch,
 45, 47, 153, 168
- Free, Samuel, 125
- Freer, Adam, 203, 205, 208
- Freiburg, 16
- Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Prussia,
 211
- Frise, Bernard, 148
- Fuhlsbüttel, 43
- Fullarton, John, 230
- Gallas, Matthias, 42
- Garden, Alexander, 116, 154, 238, 241
- Gardener, Ginny, 188
- Gardie, Magnus de la, 166
- Gardner, Ginny, 14
- Garmers, Vincent, 97
- Geer, Louis de, 189
- Geesthacht district, 18
- Gemeine Kaufmann, Der*, 19
- George I, British monarch, 184
- George Louis, Hanoverian Elector, 51, 110,
 111, 176, 227
- Georg Wilhelm of Brunswick-Lüneburg,
 49, 185
- French Huguenots and, 185, 211–12, 223
- Scottish community at Brunswick-
 Lüneburg and, 174–75, 176, 177, 178,
 179

- W. Waller's Reformed immigrants in
Lüneburg 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 218,
222
- German Christina Church, 78
- Gibb, John, 122
- Gibb, Margaret, 122
- Gifford, Thomas, 94, 103
- Gilbert, John, 116
- Gilchrist, James, 100
- Glorious Revolution, 234
- Glover, Richard, 89
- Gloysten, Berend, 109–10
- Glückstadt, 10, 21, 29, 30, 137
commercial importance of, 38
J. Durie's church reconciliation work in,
194–95
Scottish in, 79, 173, 173n.238
siege of, 35–36, 39
Royalist tensions with Covenanters
affecting, 153
toll at, 49–50
- Goeden, Baron von, 230
- Gordon, Colonel "Steelhand," 172
- Gordon, James, 119, 208–9
- Gordon, John, 80, 119, 121, 153, 153n.127
- Gordon, Patrick, 14, 153, 171–72, 181
- Gordon, William, 230
- Gothenburg, Scottish community in,
78–79
- Gottorp, Treaty of (1768), 50
- Graham, James, 106
- Gray, Andrew, military officer, 137
- Great Britain
civil war, 114, 146, 238, 240
herring trade and, 101–2
union of kingdoms to form, 12, 92,
92n.91, 92, 95, 135
- Great Northern War (1700–1721), 51, 184,
227
- Griffith, Thomas, 188
- Grison, William, 79, 83n.27, 108–9, 115, 123,
154, 236, 237
coal trade and, 111–12, 112n.222
Hamburg and Bremen commercial
networks and, 116, 117, 117n.254, 126
- Grosjean, Alexia, 7, 13, 154, 182
- Gudey, David, 107
- Guelph territories, 174
- Gulberwick, 84
- Günther, Anton, Count, 55, 59
- Günther, Fredrick, 140
- Gustav II Adolf (1611–1632), Swedish
monarch, 39, 79, 142
- Guthrie, Georg, 183
- Habenhausen, Treaty of (1666), 58
- Hadeln district, 11, 17, 52, 61
- Haliday, John, 118
- Haliday, Thomas, 98n.131
- Halland, 45
- Hamburg (city), 1, 3, 10, 15, 17–25, 45,
70–71(*map*), 238
Anglo-Dutch conflict and control of
Elbe by, 46–49
attacks on, 50
church of Merchant Adventurers in, 80,
132–34(*table*), 185–87
citizen rights, 20, 20n.27
as commercial center, 17–20
J. Durie's church reconciliation work in,
189–90, 193–94, 200–201
environmental factors affecting, 26
external conflicts and control of, 25–51
foreign communities in, 5, 20–25
foreign merchants in, 19–25, 81–82
as free city (*Freie Reichsstadt*), 30
Imperial privileges of, 17–18
Jacobites in, 228–31
Scottish commercial network in, 114–26,
127, 128, 181
Scottish migrants in, 79–82
Scottish military officers in, 135–46, 181
senate, 18, 19, 35, 38, 44, 81, 113
Stuart diplomats in, 135–46
tensions between Scottish
Covenanters, Royalists and Stuart
supporters in, 146–56
trade under other flags, 50–51, 90, 93
trade with Scotland and Shetland
Islands, 12, 84–103, 112–13
trade with Spain, 31, 37, 39
- Hamburg Admiralty, 28, 112
- Hamburg Exchange, 19
- Hamburg fishery, 96–97
- Hamilton, Archibald, 172, 182, 199
- Hamilton, George, Earl of Orkney and
Lord of Shetland, 94
- Hamilton, Hugo, 231
- Hamilton, Marquis of, 142
- Hamilton, Robert, 204
- Hammon, cleric in Hamburg, 187–88
- Hanover, 174
- Hans, Danish-Norwegian monarch, 77
- Hanseatic League, 77
- Harburg district, 11, 18, 175
- Harde, Gilbert, 86n.51
- Harper, Patrick, 120
- Harrierbake, 55
- Harrington, James, 116

- Hartlib, Samuel, 198
Hartmann, Helmke, 93
Haspelmacher, Johan, 196
Haveman, Arnold, 105, 107, 238
Hay, Adam, 103
Hay, James, 145–46
Hay, Jean le, 221
Hay, John, 103
Hay, Patrick, 145
Hearne, Paul, 215
Hebdon, John, 171
Helgoland (island), 28, 48, 96
Hemme, 157
Henderson, Alexander, 201
Henderson, Magnus, 94, 103
Henderson, William, 94
Herring, Scottish exports of, 83–95
Hildesheim conference and resolutions, 196–97, 199
Hill, Thomas, 2
Hither Pomerania, 45
Hitzigrath, Heinrich, 186, 187
Hog, John, 215, 226
Hog, Robert, entrepreneurial activities of, in Lüneburg, 215–21, 218n.182, 225–26, 233, 234, 236, 238, 239, 240, 241
Hollerland district, 52
Holstein, 2, 15, 18, 33, 37, 64–65(*map*), 137
Holstein, House of, 44
Holstein-Gottorp, 5, 18, 30, 31, 33, 137
Holstein-Pinneberg, 5, 30, 40, 43
Holthusen, Dirk, 110
Holy Roman Empire, 1, 15, 17, 29–30, 44–45, 50
 city status in, 52, 56
Horn, Henrik, 58, 172, 183
Huguenots, French, 174, 177, 185, 206, 211–12, 221, 223
Hume, James, 80
Hummelsbüttel, 43
Hunnius, Nicolaus, 191
Hurst, Richard, 136

Iberian Peninsula, 26, 51. *See also* Spain
 salt produced in, 104, 105
Iceland, trade with, 29, 30, 84, 85–86, 127
Ilmenau River, 1, 19, 60
Insh, G. P., 124
Irish military troops in Northwest Germany, 229–30
Irish Rebellion (1641), 199
Irving, Alexander, 167–68
Itzehoe, 16
Iveagh, Lord, 230

Jacobites, 188, 227–33, 234
Jacobs family in salt trade, 109
James, Duke of Courland, 148
James V, Scottish territorial fishing limits imposed by, 84n.36
James VI and I, Stuart monarch, 31, 135, 136, 240
James VII/II, Stuart monarch, 228, 234, 238
Jephson, William, 169
Jewish communities, 5
 in Hamburg and Altona, 20–21, 43
Johann Friedrich, 174
Johann Friedrich of Holstein-Gottorp, 18, 31, 39, 137
John George of Saxony, 136
Johnson, Sampson, 136, 190, 193, 233
Johnston, James, 183
Johnstone, Archibald, 187
Johnstone, James, 179–80
Jolly, Alexander, 89, 90, 100, 108, 109, 112, 113, 120, 121, 123, 237
Jolly, Alexander (younger), 122
Jolly, George, 108–9
Jolly, George (younger), 122
Jolly, Henry, 123
Jolly, John, 122
Jolly, Robert, 79, 108, 181, 236, 237, 239, 240
 coal trade and, 112–13
 commercial networks and, 120, 120n.277, 121, 122–25, 126, 127
 fish trade and, 89–91, 100
 salt trade and, 109, 110
Judicial rights
 of Merchant Adventurers, 22, 23n.37
 of Swedish monarch, 45
Jungius, Joachim, 189
Jutland, 45

Kalmar Scottish regiment, 167
Kedainiai, Lithuania, Scottish community in, 78, 226
Kellenbenz, Hermann, 5, 11
Kellie, Robert, 100–101
Kennewie, John, 118
Kincardine, Earl of, 104–5, 105n.174, 106, 107, 108, 111
King, James, 143, 146–48, 152, 190, 240
Kinnaird, Johan, 183
Kinsky, Count, 151
Klingebiel, Thomas, 211–12, 214
Königsmarck, Christopher von, 44, 157, 165
Krempe, 16
 siege of, 35–36
Kremperau River, 16

- Laffert, Hieronymus von, 179
 Lafleur, Marthe, 177
 Lamb, William, 108
 Lamont, Colonel, 223
 Lauenburg, duke of, 18
 Lawson, John, 153
 Lehe district, 52, 56, 57
 Leiden, 216
 Leijonanker, Daniel Young, 128, 217
 Leipzig, 24
 Lerwick, 91
 Leslie, Alexander, Earl of Leven, 40,
 142–43, 154, 159–60, 161, 240
 Leslie, David, 146, 190
 Lestoc, J. de, 177
 Leven, Earl of, 142–43, 154, 159–60, 208,
 209, 213, 223–24, 226
 Levenwick, 84
 Lillie, Axel, 160
 Ling. *See* Whitefish, Scottish exports of
 Litterbroodt, Joost, 99
 Loe, William, 186n.4
 Lokstedt, 43
 London, trade with, 120
 Lorimer, John, 155
 Lorimer, Robert, 155
 Lorraine, Duke of, 175
 Louis XIV, French monarch, 172, 176
 Low, George, 208, 209, 236
 Lower Saxon Circle, 15, 15n.1, 31
 Lübeck, 18, 20, 28, 85, 137
 Lübeck, Peace/Treaty of, 37, 139
 Lumsden, Colonel, 143
 Lumsden, James, 146, 180n.276
 Lumsden, William, 190
 Lundie, James, 164, 164n.182, 165, 168,
 169
 Lundie, William, 169
 Lüneburg, 10, 15, 19. *See also*
 Brunswick-Lüneburg
 citizen rights, 210, 215n.161
 entrepreneurial activity of immigrants
 in, 215–19, 233
 as haven for British dissidents and
 exiles, 202–9, 221–25
 salt trade and, 104, 105–6
 Scottish entrepreneurs in, 215–19, 233
 senate, 214, 216
 W. Waller as governor of Reformed
 migrants in, 209–27
 Lüneburg, Duke George of, 195–96, 197
 Lutherans, 20, 24, 52, 53, 56, 179, 185, 186,
 193, 195, 197, 200, 201
 Lutter, Battle of (1626), 31
 Lutz, Lieutenant-Colonel, 232
 Lützen, 39
 Maccarthy, Donough, Earl of Clancarty,
 229
 Macillicuddy, Lord, 229, 230
 Macintosh, Alexander, 102
 Macintosh, James, 102
 Mackay Scottish regiment, 32, 137, 167
 Mackie, James, 118
 Madder, David, 122
 Mar, Duke of, 231
 Mar, Earl of, 156–57
 Marseilles, 123
 Marshall, Andrew, 218
 Marshall, Gavin, 112
 Marshall, Gilbert, 112
 Medehurst, Johann, 120n.274
 Meier, Arend, 104, 105, 111, 238
 Meier, Hans Jacob, 109
 Meldrum, Thomas, 80
 Melville, Andrew, 170, 171, 173, 175–77,
 183–84, 185, 213, 223, 224
 Melville, David, Earl of Leven, 208, 209,
 213, 223–24, 226
 Melville, George, 202–3, 208, 209, 213, 224,
 236
 Melville, Georg Ernst, 183–84, 224, 239
 Memmingen, 24
 Mennonites, 43
 Mercer, Archibald, 104–5, 105n.173, 114,
 114n.240, 128, 237
 Mercer, Elizabeth, 114, 115, 128, 154–55,
 167
 Mercer, James, 154, 156
 Mercer, John, 115
 Mercer, Laurence, 167
 Mercer, Margaretha, 155
 Merchant Adventurers, 6, 53, 57, 81, 87, 101,
 103, 112, 172, 214, 240
 Anglo-Dutch conflict and, 46–48
 church of Hamburg-based, 80,
 132–34(*table*), 185–87
 commercial networks and, 116–17, 119,
 124, 126–27
 factions within, 149–50
 financial transactions, 87
 foreign community in Hamburg and,
 21–24, 27–29, 34–36, 42, 181
 judicial rights of, 22, 23n.37
 resistance of, to factories in Lüneburg,
 219
 Stuart diplomatic network and role of,
 135–46

- Merchants. *See* Scottish merchants
 Metcalf, John, 152
 Military networks. *See* Scottish military officers and soldiers
 Milton, John, 186
 Mitchell, Charles, 91, 95n.109, 103
 Mitchell, James, 91, 95, 103
 Mogk, Walter, 211
 Mollison, John, 171, 173, 175, 178–79
 Monmouth, Duke of, 172, 203, 209, 225
 Monro, George, 146
 Monro, Hugh, 102
 Monro, John R., 142, 144
 Monro, Robert, 14
 Montgomerie, Adam, 125
 Montgomerie, James, 125
 Montrose, Marquis of, military expedition led by, 150–52
 Moor, Marson, 148
 Moorburg district, 18, 60
 Moorwerder district, 18
 More, John, 115
 More, Margareta, 1, 174
 More, Patrick, 1, 5, 173, 174, 182, 226, 239, 241
 as governor of Buxtehude, 165–67, 170–71, 172
 Morgan, Charles, commander of Scottish and English troops, 32–37, 56, 137, 139
 Moseson, Joseph, 215
 Motte, Louise Maria de la, 176
 Motte-Chevalerie, Nympe de la, 176
 Mowat, Andrew, 86, 86n.51, 89
 Mowat, James, 86, 86n.51, 87, 126
 Münster, 49
 Murdoch, Steve, 6–7, 13, 189n.20, 215
 Murray, Angus, 86n.51
 Murray, David, 88
 Murray, James, 80
 Murray, John, 86n.51
 Mylne, Robert, 107

 Navigation Acts (1651, 1660, 1663), English, 46, 47, 58, 93, 94, 110
 Netherlands, 17, 20. *See also* Dutch Republic; United Provinces
 British Reformed refugees in, 202, 203
 refugees from, 24, 29
 Network analysis, 6–8, 236–41. *See also* Scottish commercial and trade networks; Scottish political networks; Scottish military officers and soldiers; Scottish Reformed Church community

 Neuenkirchen district, 52, 56
 Neumühlen, 137
 Neuwerk (island), 17
 Neven, Charles, 103
 New Army Model, 152
 Newcastle
 coal, 112
 salt, 110
 New Town of Bremen, 53
 Nicolson, Arthur, 91, 92, 103, 237
 Niederland district, 52
 Niema, Evert, 157
 Niendorf, 43
 Nijmegen, Peace of (1679), 49, 59, 176
 Nine Years' War (1688–1697), 50–51, 60, 90, 101
 Nördlingen, battle of, 39
 Northern War, second (1655–1660), 45
 North Sea (German Sea), 1, 3, 16
 trade and, 28, 54, 94
 Notbohm, Hartwig, 211
 Nuremberg, 23–24

 Obervieland district, 52
 Ogle, Elizabeth, 200–201
 Oldenburg, 2, 8, 10, 15, 55, 59
 Weser River toll imposed by, and conflict with Bremen, 57–58
 Oldenburg, Henrich von, 57
 Oliva, peace of (1660), 170, 175
 Osnabrück, 157
 Oste River, 16
 Ottensen, 43
 Otterndorf, 16
 Oxenstierna, Axel, Swedish chancellor, 13, 31, 143, 145, 189
 Oxenstierna, Erik Axelsson, 163

 Palatinate region, 31, 137
 Palmer, Robert, 149
 Parliament, English, 148, 149
 sends representative to Hamburg, 150–51
 Parliamentarians, tensions with Royalists, 187
 Paterson, John, 228–29
 Paterson, William, 124
 Pau, Anton de, 216, 218, 218n.182, 219
 Paul, John, 118
 Paulsen, Paul, 116, 117n.254
 Perth, Scotland, 1
 Pinneberg, 5, 30, 40, 43
 Pinneberg, Treaty of (1679), 50

- Pittes, Rowland, 139
 Pleizin, Dorothy, 145
 Poland, 155, 168
 Political networks. *See* Scottish political networks
 Poppel, William, 117
 Portuguese Jews, 5, 11, 20–21, 43
 Pragemann, H., 93
 Presbyterians, Scottish, 146–56, 177, 178,
 186, 187, 227. *See also* Scottish Reformed
 Church community
 Privateers
 French, 50, 60, 90, 93, 101
 Scottish, 144
 Protestants, J. Durie's attempts to unify,
 189–201, 233
 Pyper, Alexander, 91, 121

 Ramsay, Andrew, 201
 Ramsay, James, 189
 Rankin, Mr., 142
 Raziwill, Krzysztof, 78
 Reformation, 52
 Reformed church, English, 186. *See also*
 Scottish Reformed Church community
 Reinbeck, Rosie Sophie von, 177
 Reinbek district, 137
 Restoration Period (1660), 87, 186
 exiles from, 199, 201
 Reventlow, Detlev von, 194, 195
 Rheinheimer, Martin, 2
 Richardson, Samuel, 187–88
 Riddell, John, 108
 Riga, 54
 Riis, Thomas, 2
 Ritzebüttel district, 11, 17, 60
 Rives, William, 120
 Robertson, David, 144
 Robertson, George, 91
 Roe, Thomas, Stuart diplomat, 38–39,
 190–91, 200
 Rolandus, D. Niclas, 204
 Rosenhane, Schering, 157
 Rosenkrantz, Holger, 190, 194
 Roskilde, Peace of (1658), 45
 Ross, Alexander, 124
 Rössner, Philipp, 12
 Rostock, 85
 Rotenburg, 137
 Rotterdam
 Scottish community in, 77, 120
 Scottish coal trade with, 111
 Rouen, trade with, 120

 Royalists, Scottish, 115, 128, 160, 163–64,
 166, 170
 Jacobites and Scottish Reformed
 community, 227–33, 234
 tensions between Covenanters, Stuart
 supporters, and, in Hamburg, 146–56
 tensions with Parliamentarians, 187
 Rügen (island), 45
 Rupert, Prince, 151
 Rusdorff, Johann Joachim, 193
 Russell, Andrew, 100, 113, 118, 119, 120, 121,
 122, 124, 203, 208, 209, 218, 223–24
 Rutgers, Jan, 31
 Ruthven, Francis, 40–41
 Ruthven, John, 143, 204
 Ruthven, Patrick, 143, 145, 152, 159, 160,
 166, 182
 Rycaut, Paul, 50, 51, 124, 127, 228, 229, 230
 Rye House Plot, 203

 Sachsen-Lauenburg, 15, 61
 Sachsius, Daniel, 198
 Salt, Scottish exports of, 82, 103–11
 customs duties on, 92
 methods of salt production and, 104
 trade with Bremen, 104–11
 Salvius, Adler, 41
 Sandilands, Robert, 79
 Sauke, Joachim, 91, 93
 Sauke, Nicolaus, 93
 Scandic Company, 96, 97, 98, 101
 Scania, 45
 Schauenburg, 40, 61
 Schauenburg, Ernst duke of, 43
 Schleswig, 2, 18
 Schmidt, Heinrich, 4n.13
 Schmucker, Johann Heinrich, 178
 Schnelsen, 43
 Schwebel, Kurt, 9n.31, 12, 82, 235
 Schwinge River, 16, 159
 Scotland
 coal exports from, 111–14
 herring exports from, 95–103
 Privy Council, 222
 salt exports from, 82, 103–11
 territorial fishing limits, 84n.36
 union with England, 12, 92, 92n.91, 92,
 95, 101–2, 135
 whitefish exports from, 83–95
 Scott, Leonard, 116
 Scott, Robert, 177–78, 185
 Scott, Wilhelm Benjamin, 177
 Scottish brief birth, 167, 167n.200

- Scottish Calvinists, 11, 14, 227
 expatriate communities and, 78, 176, 178, 188 (*see also* Scottish Reformed Church community)
- Scottish commercial and trade networks, 77–134, 237–39
 artisans, merchants, skippers and ship crews, 129–31(*table*)
 coal exports from Scotland and, 111–14
 in Hamburg and Bremen, 114–26
 herring exports from Scotland and, 95–103
 migration of Scots and, 77–83
 salt exports from Scotland and, 82, 103–11
 whitefish exports from Scotland and, 83–95
- Scottish Covenanters, 112, 146–56, 189
- Scottish Convention, 113
- Scottish ethnic identity, 239–41
- Scottish expatriate communities, 77–83
 Scottish church linked to, 77, 78, 132–34(*table*) (*see also* Scottish Reformed Church community)
- Scottish merchants, 129–31(*table*), 236–39
 financial transactions of, 87
 in fishing trade, 89–92, 97–103
 in Hamburg, 26–27, 79
 R. Jolly (*see* Jolly, Robert)
 networks of, in Hamburg and Bremen, 114–26, 127
 in salt trade, 104–11
- Scottish entrepreneurs in Lüneburg, 215–19, 233–34
- Scottish migration, 77–83. *See also* Scottish commercial and trade networks; Scottish political networks; Scottish military officers and soldiers; Scottish Reformed Church community
 to Elbe-Weser region, 5–6, 11–14, 79–83
 network analysis of, 6–8, 236–41
 refugees and political dissidents and, 192, 199, 201, 202–27, 233–34
 scholarship on, 1–14, 82–83, 235–36
- Scottish military officers and soldiers, 13–14, 32–37
 in Hamburg (1630–1707), 137, 142–46
 in service to Brunswick-Lüneburg, 173, 174–80
 in service to Denmark-Norway, 137, 142, 169, 173
 in service to Sweden, 39–42, 56–57, 142, 143, 153–54, 161–64, 165, 167, 169, 172, 240
 tensions between Covenanters, Stuart supporters, and Royalists, and, 146–48, 150–51
- Scottish names, Germanized forms of, 80n.16
- Scottish Parliament, 84n.36, 87–88
- Scottish political networks
 Scottish administration of Swedish territories in wider Elbe-Weser region and, 156–74, 181–82, 240–41
 Stuart diplomats, 135–46 (*see also* Stuart diplomats)
 tensions between Scottish Covenanters, Royalists, and Stuart supporters in Hamburg, 146–56
- Scottish Reformed Church community, 185–234
 Covenanters, 112, 146–56, 189
 J. Durie's attempts to unify Protestants, 189–201, 233
 in Hamburg and Altona, 43
 haven for entrepreneurs, dissidents and exiles, and, 202–27, 233–34
 Jacobites and, 227–33, 234
 Scottish migration to Northwest Germany linked to, 77, 78, 132–34(*table*)
- Second Northern War (1655–1660), 45
- Segeberg, 44
- Seton, George, Earl of Winton, 228, 229
- Seton, John, 142
- Shavott, General, 223
- Shetland Islands, 12, 237
 herring exports from, 95–103
 trade between Hamburg and, 12
 whitefish exports from, 83–95
- Siebenecker, Arnulf, 211
- Simonson, Isaac, 79–80
- Sinclair, John, 87
- Sinclair, Laurence, 86
- Sinclair, Thomas, 86n.51
- Skelton, Bevil, 206–8, 213, 233
- Skippers and ship crews, Scottish, 129–31(*table*)
- Smith, Andrew, 87
- Smith, Hance D., 92
- Smith, Peter, 87
- Smout, Christopher, 235
- Sophia of Hanover, 176, 223
- Spain, 26. *See also* Iberian peninsula
 Hamburg trade with, 31, 37, 39
- Spanish-Dutch Conflict (1568–1648), 20, 21, 25, 26
- Spence, Gilbert, 99, 126, 181, 208, 209, 237

- commercial networks and, 117, 118,
118n.261, 119, 120, 121, 125, 127
salt trade and, 107–8
- Spence, John, 118
- Spens, James, 189
- Sprado, Ilsa, 208n.131
- Sprang, William, 186
- Spreull, John, 99–100, 118, 119, 125
- Stade, 10, 15, 16, 24, 29, 91, 157, 159, 170, 172
W. Forbes as commandant of, 162, 182
Merchant Adventurers in, 22
- Stadland district, 52, 55
- Staffhorst, Lucia Anna Dorothea von, 184
- Steinburg, Treaty of, 30, 44
- Steuart, John, 102, 103
- Stevenson, Alexander, 124, 125
- Stevenson, David, 155
- Stewart, Archibald, 100
- Stewart, George and Jane, 80
- Stewart, Henry, 106
- Stewart, James, 56–57
- Stikenelle, Drossard, 224
- Stirling, William, 87
- Stör River, 16
- Strachan, William, 115
- Stralsund, 85
- Stratford, Francis, 124, 125
- Stuart, Elizabeth, 151
- Stuart diplomats, 135–46
R. Anstruther (*see* Anstruther, Robert,
Stuart diplomat)
connection of Joseph Averie to, 135,
138–46
in Hamburg, 135–46
- Stuart monarchy, 26. *See also names of
Stuart monarchs, e.g.* James VI and I
Restoration of, 58, 186
tensions between Scottish Covenanters,
Royalists, and, in Hamburg, 146–56
union of kingdoms, 12, 92, 92n.91, 92, 95,
101–2, 135
- Stucke, Johann, 157
- Surbick, Luder, 157
- Swann, William, 47–49, 121, 127, 166, 172,
173, 188
- Sweden
conflicts with Bremen, 56–57, 58, 165,
167, 182
conflicts with Denmark-Norway, 44, 45,
49–50
J. Durie's missions to, 189
links between Jacobites and, 232
military conquests, 44–45
as rival to Denmark-Norway, 28, 44
- Scottish administration of territories
controlled by, in Wider Elbe-Weser
region, 156–74, 181–82, 240–41
Scottish military in service to, 39–42,
56–57, 142, 143, 153–54, 161–64, 165,
167, 169, 172, 240
Thirty Years War and, 39, 142
trade with, 123
- Swedish-Bremen wars, 56–57, 58, 165, 167,
182
- Swedish-Danish War (1643–1645), 44, 45,
58
- Swift, Catherine, 136
- Swift, James, 136
- Synod of Dordrecht, 53
- Synod of Holland, 43
- Tailfer, James, 98, 98n.131, 99, 127
- Tassius, Johann Adolf, 198
- Taxes, 8
British, 87–88, 92, 97
on Reform immigrant, 205, 210
- Taylor, Borick, 224
- Taylor, Mary, 221
- Textiles. *See* Factories, textile
- Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), 13, 21, 25–26,
39, 55, 142
- Thomason, John, 117
- Thomsen, Daniel, 93
- Thomson, Isabel, 122
- Thomson, James, 122
- Thomson, John, 122
- Thomson, Patrick, 122
- Tilly, Count of, 32, 56
- Toll registers. *See* Weser toll registers
- Tomloo, Andreas, 124
- Torryburn, 105n.175, 106, 106n.181
- Tott, Åke, 142
- Trade networks. *See* Scottish commercial
and trade networks
- Turnbull, Annie, 122
- Turnbull, Robert, 122
- Turner, James, 150
- Union, Great Britain, 12, 92, 92n.91, 92, 95,
101–2, 135
- United Provinces, 26, 54, 188. *See also*
Dutch Republic; Netherlands
British Reformed refugees in, 202, 203
- United Societies, 204
- Usedom (island), 45
- Van Dam, Johan, 99
- Vane, Henry, 141

- Van Eitzen, Albert, 145
 Van Porten, Henry, 171
 Vanverbeke, Just, 88
 Van Voss, Lex Heerma, 4
 Van Weed, Cornelio, 106–7
 Vavasour, William, 148
 Veeck, Otto, 192–93
 Verden (city), 62–63(*map*). *See also* Verden duchy
 Frederick as administrator in, 31, 40
 Verden archbishopric, 44
 Verden duchy, 2, 10, 11, 15, 49, 51. *See also* Verden (city)
 Scottish administration of Swedish-controlled, 156–65, 181–82
 Verden *Stift*, 31, 56
 Vic Henry de, 141
 Vierlande district, 18
 Villars-Malortie, Gabriel de, 177
 Vogeler, Hieronymus, 34
 Von Campe, Daniel, 48

 Wachmann, Dithmar, 207
 Waddell, Alexander, 119
 Wagenfeld, Jasper, 98
 Waite, George, 150
 Waldeck, Count, 175
 Waller, William, 192, 201, 202–27, 236
 church established by, 220
 decommission from Bremen, 207, 208, 209
 work by, to create haven for entrepreneurs, dissidents and exiles, 202–9, 218, 221–27
 Wandsbek district, 29
 Wangelin, Bernhard Christian, 183
 Ward, John, 116
 Warnke, Court, 87
 War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), 51, 60, 91, 93
 Warsaw, Battle of (1656), 168
 Wartensleben, Lucia Christina, 169
 Watson, Nathaniel, 119, 127
 Watt, Douglas, 124
 Wedel, 43
 Wedel ford, 16
 Werderland district, 52
 Weser River, 1, 3, 5, 51–60. *See also* Bremen (city); Wider Elbe-Weser region
 overview of lower, 51–50, 68–69 (*map*)
 tolls on, 55, 57–58
 Weser toll registers, 8–9, 9n.31, 85, 106
 Westermann, Adolph, 90
 Westphalia, 31, 45
 Westphalia, Treaty/Peace of (1648/49), 44, 56, 156
 Weymss, Earl of, 109
 Whitefish, Scottish exports of, 83–95
 White Mountain, Battle of the (1620), 30
 Whittenberg, Arvid, 165
 Wich, Cyril, 232
 Wich, John, 101
 Wideburg, Heinrich, 196
 Wider Elbe-Weser region, 15–61, 62–75(*maps*). *See also* Bremen (city); Elbe River; Hamburg (city); Weser River
 J. Durie's effort to unite Protestant churches in, 189–201, 233
 geographical regions of, 4–5
 local populations' view of, 4n.13
 Lower Elbe region, 16–25
 Lower Weser region, 51–60
 networks in, 60–61, 87
 political borders, 2–4
 political control of lower Elbe, 25–51
 Protestantism in, 185–86 (*see also* Scottish Reformed Church community)
 Scottish administration of Swedish territories in, 156–74
 Scottish migration to, 5–6, 11–14, 79–83
 Willet, Daniel, 120, 120n.274
 Willet, William, 100, 108, 119, 120, 120n.274, 125
 Williamite Revolution, 224, 225, 226, 228
 William of Orange, 229
 Williamson, John, 117
 Wilson, John, 118, 180
 Wilson, Magnus, 105, 105n.175, 114, 114n.240, 117–18, 117n.256, 118n.261
 Wilster, 16
 Wilsterau River, 16
 Winton, Earl of, 228, 229
 Wismar, 45
 Witzleben, G. M., 165
 Wollin (island), 45
 Worthington, David, 7, 13
 Wrangel, Carl Gustav, 45, 162, 163, 164, 182
 Wrangel, Hermann, 41–42n.169
 Wursten district, 18
 Würtz, Paul, 172

 Young (Leijonanker), Daniel, 128, 217
 Young, Scot Thomas, 186, 186n.6, 233
 Young, William, 186n.6

 Zealand, 45
 Zeven estate nunnery, 160, 162, 166–67